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THE

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OF THE

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VOLUME XXVII.

(POLITE LITERATURE AND ANTIQUITIES.)

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On the Bell of St. Patrick, called the Clog an Edachta.

By William Reeves, D. D.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

I.—*On the Bell of St. Patrick, called the Clog an Edachta.* By WILLIAM REEVES, D. D.

Read November 9, 1863.

THE supposition that timber entered largely into the construction of medieval Armagh affords a ready and reasonable explanation of the numerous conflagrations with which the Irish Annals record that it was visited. A closely packed town, encircling a hill, and hugging in its secular embrace the group of ecclesiastical buildings which occupied the summit, was likely to give and take whenever the fiery element broke out in either department. Wood was plenty for the purposes of building, and the neighbouring baronies of the *Fews*, as well as the numerous *Derrys* in the lowlands of the county, indicate by their names that vast supplies of that material lay near at hand.

Among the frequent casualties of this nature, there are two recorded which bear upon the subject of the present paper. It is stated that, in the year 1020, "Ardmacha was burned, with all the fort, without the saving of any house within it, except the library only, and many houses were burned in the Trians: and the Daimhliag-mor was burned, and the Cloictheach (or steeple), with its bells; and Daimhliag-na-Toe, and Daimhliag-an-tSabhaill;

and the old Preaching chair, and the Chariot of the abbots, and their books in the houses of the students, with much gold, silver, and other precious things."* Again, in the year 1074, "Ardmacha was burned on the Tuesday after May-day, with all its churches and bells, both Rath and Trian,"† that is, both its ecclesiastical and secular portions.

This being the case, it might naturally be presumed that all the remains of ancient times in the city, which had been handed down to these dates, perished in one or other of these conflagrations, and that any reliquaries of Armagh, which have survived to the present time, or are known to have existed in the intermediate period, must abandon all legitimate claim to an earlier antiquity than the latter half of the eleventh century. And so, in all probability, it would be if some of them had not been regarded with special reverence, and been placed in circumstances which entailed an individual responsibility, and thus exempted them from a participation in the general ruin. I allude, in particular, to three objects, two of which are mentioned by St. Bernard early in the twelfth century, as of remote and acknowledged antiquity; while the claims of the other to like distinction are authenticated by equally respectable testimony. These were not likely to be regarded as ordinary ecclesiastical furniture, designed for current use, which a little industry or ingenuity could replace, but, if lodged within the ecclesiastical precincts, were sure to be kept apart from articles of inferior value, and in the hour of danger to be borne, at the risk of limb and life, like so many sacred Palladiums from the burning city. Besides this, they possessed an additional guarantee for their security: each had its special *maer* or keeper, whose honour and emolument depended upon its safe custody, and whose most vigilant care was enlisted on behalf of its well-being. The Bachall-Iosa, or sacred episcopal staff of the successors of St. Patrick, was the hereditary trust of the Clann-Sionaich, the *plebilis progenies* from which a long succession of the coarbs was derived. The Canon-Phadruig, or Gospels of St. Patrick, was committed to the family who, from their trust, assumed the official surname of Mac-Moyre, or Keepersson; while the Clog-Phadruig, or Bell of St. Patrick, commanded the watchful

* O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. ii. p. 797. † Ibid. p. 907.

services of the O'Maelchallans. Each was confided to the head of its appointed family for the time being, and his responsibility was enhanced by the spiritual terrors which menaced any dereliction of duty in the conservation of an object whose guardian saint was believed to resent as a personal injury any affront which was offered to the trust.

The Bell of St. Patrick was so-called, *par excellence*, as the one supposed to have been reserved by him for his more immediate use, and to have been conveyed after his death to the church of his especial regard. Bells he distributed through the multitudinous oratories founded by him, with unsparing hand: fifty he is said to have bestowed upon the churches of a single province—Connaught; and, wherever else he placed a minister of religion, he provided him with the instrument of invitation to his ministrations.

Agreeably to the ancient custom, both Pagan and Christian, of depositing in the graves of the illustrious dead the personal insignia of life, there was an early belief that three sacred objects were buried with our apostle in his grave at Saul. And the record of the Invention, which the compiler of the Annals of Ulster, himself of medieval date, borrowed from the then ancient Book of Cuana, may be regarded as the earliest announcement of the existence of the Bell under consideration. At the year 552 he thus writes:—

Sic in libro Cuanach inueni .i. Reilci Patraic do tabhairt i scrin i cinn tri fichet bhadain iar netsecht Patraic la Colum cille. Tri minna uaisle do fagbhail isin adhnacal .i. in coach ocus soiscela ind aingil ocus clocc in oideachta. is amlaid so ro fogail int aingel do Colum cille na .iii. minna .i. in coach do Dun ocus clocc in aidechta do Ardmacha soiscela in aingil do Colum cille fein. is aire do garar soiscel in aingil de ar is alaim in aingil arroet Colum cille hi.

"I have found what follows in the Book of Cuana. The relics of Patrick were placed in a shrine by Columcille, sixty years after his death. Three precious reliquaries were found in his tomb, to wit, the Cup, the Gospel of the Angel, and the Bell of the Will. The Angel in this manner shewed to Columcille how to distribute the three reliquaries, namely, the Cup to Down, the Bell of the Will to Armagh, the Gospel of the Angel to Columcille himself: and it is called the Gospel of the Angel, because Columcille received it at the Angel's hand."*

* The obsolete verb arroet is glossed .i. fuair (*i. e.* 'got,' 'received') in the Dublin MS. of the Annals of Ulster. The word occurs again in the same Annals at 1106.

To this Invention it would seem that reference is made, though obscurely, by Tirechan, at the beginning of the eighth century, in a passage copied into the Book of Armagh before the year 807:—"Colomb cille spiritu sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii, ubi est confirmat, id est, in Sabul Patricii, id est, in ecclesia juxta mare, ubi est conductio martirum, id est ossium, Coluimbcillæ de Brittania, et conductio omnium sanctorum Hiberniæ in die judicii."*

In a manuscript of Irish poems, ascribed to St. Columcille,† though for the most part of a much later age, is one purporting to be addressed by this saint to the bell called *Clog-an-udhachta*, which had lain buried in the tomb of St. Patrick for the space of seventy years. And this is followed by three detached quatrains, having reference to the same subject. These, though they cannot be regarded as the genuine composition of so early a writer, are yet very curious, as a metrical record of the honour in which this bell was held:—

Mo cean duit a ċluicc blaiṫ bind, Do bid ar uċt an tailgind, Dar ceadaigh daṁ Christ gan col A ṫogbail a ṫidlacad.	"My love to thee, O smooth, melodious bell, Which wast on the Tailginn's breast; Which was permitted me by Christ without guile, The raising, the delivering of it.‡
Decc mbliadna is tri ċeirt ḟiċit Don cloccsin cona rathaib, Ar ucht Phatraic prim abstal Is nir ċrin se fa clach.	Ten years and three just score Was this bell with all its graces On the breast of Patrick, first apostle, And he withered not beneath the stone.
Orduigim coimdea mo ċluicc Ochtar biar uasal irdruic, Sacart acus deochan dib, Na deaċ mo clocc andimbriġ	I command, for the safe-keeping of my bell, Eight, who shall be noble, illustrious, A priest and a deacon among them, That my bell may not deteriorate.

* Fol. 15 *bb*, 16 *aa*. See O'Donnell's Life of St. Columba, i. 114 (Colgan, Trias Thaum., p. 408 *a*).

† Preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Laud, 615, p. 119.

‡ In these two lines the construction is inverted, and the sense becomes apparent if the fourth line of the stanza be read before the third.

Biaiḋ derg ór uile im a ḟleiscc
Biaiḋ mor do rigaib rus taisc,
Mairg neaċ rus gaḃann a ceist,
Mairg teċ is mairg treiḃ a traisc.

There shall be red gold round its borders;
Many shall be the kings who will treasure it:
Woe to the person who hides it,
Woe to the house, and woe to the tribe.

Da ceo do rigaib gan ón
Cona ndirṁaiḃ comblaiṫ
Ṁuirfes clocc an cleireċ ċa id
A ri rain is ris mo ċen. M.

Two hundred kings without doubt,
With their famous troops
The bell of the mild cleric shall kill:
O King of glory with it is my love. My.

Me Colum cille gan col
Fiaḋ ṁuige niṁe na fleġ:
Clocc an udachta combuaiḋ
A ṫabairt a tuaiḋ, is mo ċen. M.

I am Colum-cille without guile,
Before the plain of Heaven of feasts:
The Bell of the Will with victory
And the bringing it from the north *are* my love. My.

Ticfaid luċt claocloid an uird
Ni rachaid na buirb ar neaṁ
Bedid an ifron re la
Ni ba hiad cobraṫ mo chen.

The bands to confuse the Order will come:
The barbarians shall not go to heaven;
They shall be in hell for ever,
They shall never be my love.

Lugaid mac Laogaire luinn
Dar ṁuill Erin re seal
Ise sud an clog rus marb
A ri na salm rit mo ċean. M.

Lughaidh son of Laoghaire the furious,
Who ruined Erin in his time;
That is the bell which killed him.
O King of the Psalms, with thee *is* my love. My."

And here I may for a moment digress from history to description, and observe that in this department of ecclesiastical antiquities, the metallic sequence is the reverse of that which northern antiquaries have laid down as typical of successive ages; for here the iron period, instead of following, precedes the bronze. The Irish poem of Flann of the Monastery, which embodies certain traditions or opinions that existed in the early part of the eleventh century, limits bell-metal to iron, and assigns its manufacture to the *smith*, while altar furniture is implied to have been of bronze, inasmuch as the construction of such articles is stated to have been the province of the *brasier*.

In the recital of St. Patrick's muintir, or family, that is, his religious associates, there occur the names of "the three smiths (ꝫoƀainn) expert at shaping, MacCecht, Laebhan, and Fortchern;"* and of "the three artificers (cerda) of great skill, Aesbuite, Tairill, and Tassach."

Further, the prose argument, which is prefixed, specifies, by the incidental mention of one bell, the work of the first group:

"The three smiths were, MacCecht of Domhnach Arnoin, (it was he who made the Finn-faidhech); Laebhan, of Domhnach-Loebhain; and Foirtchern of Rath-Aidme."

Or, as is more explicitly stated in the Tripartite Life:

Na ꝫobaind occ denum na clocc .i. MacCecht ocus Cuana ocus Mac tail. Na cerdae oc denum na mias ocus na menistrech ocus na cailech naltora .i. Tassach ocus Essu ocus Bitiu.†

"That the smiths should make the bells, namely, MacCecht, and Cuana, and Mac-Tail. That the brasiers should make the patens, and the menisters, and the altar chalices, namely, Tassach, and Essu, and Bitu."

To the same effect is the Legend of our St. Lughaidh,‡ the founder

* In Colgan's Latin version of the Tripartite Life, there is an omission of one of the names, and it runs thus: *Sanctus Maccectus* de *Domhnach-loebain*, qui reliquiarium illud famosum, *Finn-faidheach* nuncupatum fabricavit, et *Sanctus Fortchernus* de *Rath-aidme*, duo fabri ferrarii.—(Trias Thaum. p. 167 *a*). Dr. O'Donovan remarks that "this is obviously a blunder of Colgan's" (Annals of the Four Mast., Vol. I. p. 137, *n.* d); but the original of the Tripartite Life, which has since been brought to light, justifies Colgan for fidelity: A thri ꝫobaind .i. Mac Cecht ó Domnach Laeban ise doroine ind finnfaidech, ocus Fortchern i raith Adme. "The three smiths, i. e. Mac Cecht of Domhnach Laebhain (it was he who made the Finnfaidhech), and Foirtchern of Rath-Adme."—Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton, No. 93, fol. 18, *b b*.

† Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton, No. 93, fol. 17, *ba*.

‡ O'Donovan has fallen into a great error regarding this saint. Supposing that Lismor was the Irish church of that name, he argues that there was a church there anterior to S. Carthach or Mochuda's reputed foundation in 636. He was not aware of the existence of the Scottish Lismore, and therefore his statements in the notes to the Four Masters, Vol. i. pp. 213, n. *r*; 236, n. *p*; 253, n. *k*; and 254, n. *s*, are to be received subject to this amendment. The line also in the Felire of Ængus, which commemorates the founder of the Scotch Lismor: Lamluoc ꝫlan ꝫeldai, and which has been translated by Todd and O'Curry, "Lamluoc, the pure, the bright," is to be cor-

and patron saint of the church of Lismore in Scotland, who is known in that country as St. Moluog, and who died, according to Tighernach, in the year 591. The passage alluded to occurs in the Breviary of Aberdeen, among the proper lessons for his day, the 25th of June:

"Sed et die quadam, cum ferream campanam et quadratam, sue ecclesie pernecessariam, fabricandam haberet, et fabrum vicinum ad idem opus faciendum instanter persuaderet: dissimilante fabro ob carbonum carenciam se non potuisse hujusmodi fabricare, affirmavit Molocus: itaque de ipsius summi Dei maxima confisus clemencia, fabri officinam exiens, fasciculum quendam juncoorum seu cirporum illico eidem attulit, et pro carbonibus uti postulavit. Indignatus faber fasciculum cum ferro accipiens, in fornacem jecit, ut facili inde illo vidente consumeret. Sed et cunctis admirantibus fasciculus ille, licet consumptu facillime aliis apparuerit, divino tamen nutu, carbonum officium habundanter supplevit et exercuit, et ferrum inde malleo aptum reddidit, ex quo campanam fabricavit, que hactenus in ecclesia Lismorensi in magno pretio habetur in hodiernum diem."*

So Bishop Elphinstone wrote in 1509, following some ancient authority; and I may add, in 1863, that this interesting reliquary, the Bell of Lismore, still exists, attesting by its material and condition the descriptive truthfulness of the legend.

A beautiful type of the later, the bronze age of bells, and this, in the transition form from the quadrangular to the rotund, is preserved in our Museum, having been in the collection of the late Dean Dawson; and it possesses the singular property of telling its own history in the inscription:

✠ OROIT AR CHŪMASCACH M̄ AILELLO

"A prayer for Chummascach son of Ailell:"

who, as Dr. Petrie has shewn from the Irish Annals,† was Œconomus or Steward of the monastery of Armagh previously to 904, the year at which

rectly rendered, "With my Luoc, the pure, the bright:" the LAM, being the preposition LA with the paragogic M; and LUOC being the simple element of the name, which, with the usual prefix, makes Moluoc, or Molocus, as it is given in Tighernach and the Scotch authorities.

* Breviar. Aberdonen., Part. Æstiv. Proprium Sanctorum, fol. 6, *a a.*

† In a communication, June 22, 1840.—Proceedings R. I. A., Ser. I. Vol. i. p. 477.

his death is recorded. Here, then, we have a good type of a cast bronze bell, dating about the year 900, as we also have of a hammered bell in the Lismore example, of about 560; or, to go back to an earlier date, in the Bell of St. Patrick, which, in all probability, is *fourteen-hundred years old.*

This bell is quadrilateral, and formed of two plates of sheet iron, which are bent over so as to meet, and are fastened together by large-headed iron rivets. The corners are rounded by the gentle inclination of the parts which join. One of the plates constitutes the face, the crown, and upper third of the back, as well as the adjacent portion of each side, being doubled over at the top, and descending to meet the smaller plate, which overlaps it at the junction. Subsequently to the securing of the joints by rivets, the iron frame was consolidated by the fusion of bronze into the joints and over the surface, giving to the whole a metallic solidity, which very much enhanced its resonance, as well as contributed to its preservation. The inside also was coated with bronze, though more irregularly than the outside, owing to the unevenness of the surface; and the coating seems to have been effected by the dipping of the iron shell into a vessel of the fused metallic compound—a process which has been employed to a recent date in the manufacture of the Wiltshire sheep-bells.

The handle is of iron, let in by projecting spikes to perforations on the ridge of the bell, and further secured on the outside by the bronze attachments of its straps. The clapper also is of iron, evidently of much later construction, and suspended by a figure-of-eight crank from a bronze staple which is riveted longitudinally to the under surface of the arch.

The height (including the handle) is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, exclusive of handle $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The breadth at crown is 5, and the width $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The mouth is $4\frac{7}{8}$ by $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and its girth 16 inches. The entire weight is 3 lbs. 11 oz.

On the face are a large and smaller hole, made by corrosion from the inside. The dexter side shows a space, rather more than a third of its lower portion, where the lap-over has been removed, although the rivet which marks its original existence remains, and yet the exposed surface is bronzed; thereby leading to the supposition that the bronzing was a process much

later than the formation of the bell, and that it was adopted at a time when the iron shell had been impaired either by age or accident.

The lower margin of the bell is irregular in outline and thickness, owing to the effects of corrosion, and it has left a corresponding impression upon the bronze plate whereon it rested when enclosed in the shrine, in some places deeper and wider than in others, and not at all shewn where the wasting of the bell prevented the edge from coming in contact with its floor.

It may be reasonably presumed that the distinctive epithet, "Bell of the Will," had its origin in the belief that the disposition of it to Armagh was in pursuance of some desire expressed by the first possessor. Archbishop Ussher quotes an ancient Irish poem, called the *Testamentum Patricii*,* in which there may have been a reference to this reliquary. The Four Masters, at 1425, style it "The Bell of Patrick's Will," and Dr. O'Donovan accepts the name as denoting a bequest of this saint. There is, however, in the ancient tale called the Aiṫeoh Muiṛceṛtaiġ mic Eaṛca, or "Tragical death of Muircertach, son of Earc," a passage which couples this object with the memory of St. Cairnech, and further classes it among the *Cathachs*,† or "battlers," of Ireland, a designation most conspicuously borne by St. Columcille's Psalter and its shrine, and which was also applied to St. Grellan's staff, and St. Caillin's Cross of holly, because each object so designated was carried into battle as a standard, and was supposed to conduce to the victory of the side in rightful possession, just as with the Israelites, when on a memorable occasion they employed the sacred ark against their enemies; or as with Robert Bruce, when he associated the virtues of St. Fillan's arm with the valour of his own.

* Ussher's Works, Vol. vi. pp. 146, 446, 449, 450, 457. See O'Donnell's Life of St. Columba, i. 7 (Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 390 *b*). The modern word uoaċt *testamentum* appears in the Book of Armagh in the forms eoocт, aeoochт, aioachт, (foll. 17 *ab*, 13 *ab*). A reliquary of St. Columba was called the oelg aioechta, *fibula testamenti*.—Reeves's St. Columba, p. 323, note *d*.

† Cathach, pronounced *caah*, is a derivative from caṫ, "battle," and is Latinized *prœliator*. Conn of the Hundred Battles, whom O'Flaherty styles *Centimachus*, is in Irish known as Conn-ceo-caṫach. See Reeves's St. Columba (Irish Archæol. and Celtic Soc.), p. 319.

The passage just alluded to is as follows:—

Ro bennaig Cairnech iat ocus ro ḟáġaib fagbala dóib .i. do clandaib Conaill acus Eoġain: In uair nać biad airećus Erenn, no a rige acu, a sprraicc for cać cuiceḋ na timćell, ocus comarbus Oilig ocus Temrać ocus Ulaḋ acu; ocus cen tuarastal do gabail o neach, ar ise a ruidles fesin rigi nErenn; ocus cen glas for giall, ocus meaṫ for na giallu dia nelad; ocus buaid catha acu, aċt co tucad fa adbar coir, ocus co rabat tri mergi acu .i. in Chaṫach ocus in Clog Padraig .i. in udachta, ocus in Misach Cairniġ; ocus no biad a raṫ sin uile ar oen mind dib re huċt caṫa, amail ro fagaib Cairnech doib.§

"Cairnech blessed them,* and he left them gifts,† *i. e.* to the clanns of Conall and Eoghan, that when they should not have the sovereignty of Erin or its monarchy, that their power should extend over every province around them; and that they should have the successorship‡ of Oilech, and Temhair, and Uladh; and that they should not receive wages from any one, because the sovereignty of Erin was their own absolute right; and that no hostage of theirs should require to be confined; and that such hostages should decay if they eloped; and that victory of battle should be theirs, provided they waged it in a just cause; and that they had these three standards, namely, the Cathach, and the Bell of Patrick (*i. e.* of the Will), and the Misach of Cairnech; and that the virtue of all these should be upon any one reliquary of them, against battle; such as Cairnech left them."

From such beginnings this reliquary gradually acquired more and more veneration until the eleventh century; before the middle of which it reappears, invested with such dignity that the violation of a compact which

* See, for an account of this saint, Todd's Irish Nennius, pp. 178, ci.

† The verb, fagaim, here does not denote *to leave* in the testamentary sense, but simply.

‡ It is observable that the word comarbus, which generally occurs in reference to the *hæreditas ecclesiastica*, or succession in an abbacy, is here employed in a secular or civil sense. So we find the term, comarba used in the Brehon Laws.

§ Aidheadh Muircertaigh mic Erca, MS. H. 2. 16., col. 312, Trin. Coll. Dub. This passage has been printed in Reeves's Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, p. 329, and in Prof. O'Curry's Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History, p. 600.

was ratified upon it, is regarded as a profanation of its sanctity, and is accordingly visited with the severest penalties. The Annals of Ulster, at the year 1044, record—

Cṛech la Niall mac Maelṛechlainn la ṛigh nAiligh for hUib Meith ocus for Cuailgne co ṛuc da céd decc bo acus ṛochaiḋe da bṛait i ndiġail ṙaṛaighthi cluicc ind edachta.

"A predatory expedition by Niall, son of Maelsechlainn, King of Ailech,* against Ui Meith and against Cuailgne, in which he carried off 1200 cows, and a multitude of captives, in revenge for the violation of the Bell of the Will.†

Cṛech aile dono la Muṛceṛtach hua Neill for Muġdoṛna co tuc boṛoma acus bṛait i ndighail ṛaṛaighthe in ċluicc cetna.

"Another predatory excursion by Muirchertach Ua Neill into Mughdorna, whence he carried off a cattle-spoil, and prisoners, in revenge of the violation of the same bell."

At this period the bell was probably bare, or, if enclosed, was preserved in a case of inferior workmanship. At the close of the century, however, it was judged worthy of being enshrined in a manner suited to its noble origin, in all the costliness of gold and silver, and all the elegance that the highest art could confer. The parties to this act of veneration were the Sovereign of Ireland and the Archbishop of Armagh, who, in doing honour to this reliquary, testified that it commanded at that time the greatest respect, both secular and religious.

The inscription, which runs along the margin or frame of the decorated silver plate that ornaments the back of the shrine, affords some very interesting particulars of information regarding the history of this work of medieval Irish art. Commencing at the left-hand angle of the upper edge, the inscription is carried round, till, ascending on the left side, the final letters approach the point where it begun. The first line in the following representation is the horizontal top; the second, the descending right; the

* The Four Masters, who transfer this entry to their Annals, under the same year, substitute the word tiġeṛna, 'lord,' for ṛig, 'king.'

† Dr. O'Conor reads this as cluicc in dedaṛ.a, apparently unaware of the import of the contraction, and renders an unintelligible clause by *Campanam Divine instructionis*. Rer. Hib. SS., Vol. iv. p. 328. *Campana admonitoria.* Ibid. p. 20.

third, the horizontal bottom, looking downwards; and the fourth, the ascending left, looking outwards:—

ORDODOMNALLULACHLAINDLASINDERN
ADINCLOCSAOCUSDODOMNALLCHOMARBAPHATRAICICONDE
RNADOCUSDODCHATHALANUMAELCHALLANDDOMAERINCH
LUICOCUSDOCHONDULIGUINMAINENCONAMACCAIBROCUMTUIG.

Here, as in ancient uncial munuscripts, all the words run into each other in one unbroken tenor, except at the angles, where, however, in three instances the break occurs in the middle of a word. Grouped into words, according to the sense, the inscription is to be read thus:—

Or̄* do Domnall Ulachlaind† las i‡ nderned§ in cloc sa, ocus do Domnall chomarba Phatraic ico|| nderned, ocus dod¶ Chathalan UMaelchalland do** maer in chluic, ocus do Chondulig†† UInmainen co na maccaib ro cumtuig.‡‡

Oratio pro Domnall ULachlainn, per quem facta est ἡ campana hæc; et pro Domnall herede Patricii, apud quem facta est; et pro Chathalan U Maelchalland [pro] custode τῆς campanæ; et pro Cudulig U Inmainen cum suis filiis, qui cooperuerunt.

Domhnall O'Lachlainn, whose name occurs first in order in the inscription, was son of Ardgar O'Lachlainn, lord of Ailech, as the Kings of Ulster

* Or̄, a contraction of oroit, *oratio*, "a prayer," of universal occurrence in Irish monumental inscriptions. The earliest instance of the word that I have met with is in the Antiphonary of Bangor, a MS. of the early eighth century, where I find the title of a prayer, Common oroit dún, "*Communis oratio pro nobis*," fol. 34*a*.

† U.—The old form of Ua, or the modern O.

‡ Lasi.—The modern form is leis a.

§ nderned.—See O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, pp. 397, 233.

|| Ico.—Now ag a. See O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p. 281.

¶ Dod.—The final d is paragogic, or probably an error of the engraver.

** Do.—The preposition is often repeated before words placed in apposition. See O'Donovan, Irish Grammar, p. 398.

†† Chondulig.—The genitive of Cudulig, "Ravenous hound."

‡‡ Cumtuig.—The same as cumduig, from cuṁduiġim, "to cover," "roof," hence cumdach, a "cover," "case."

were often designated, who died in 1064. Domhnall succeeded him, and also enjoyed the titular rank of King of Ireland, so early as 1088, and his death is thus recorded by the Four Masters at 1121:

"Domhnall son of Ardghar Mac Lochlainn, king of Ireland, the most distinguished of the Irish for personal form, family, sense, prowess, prosperity, and happiness, for bestowing of jewels and food upon the mighty and the needy, died at Doire-Choluim-chille, after having been twenty-seven years in sovereignty over Ireland, and eleven years in the kingdom of Ailech, in the seventy-third year of his age, on the night of Wednesday, the fourth of the ides of February, being the festival of Mochuarog."

The second personage named is Domhnall, coarb or heir, that is, successor, in the abbacy of St. Patrick. On the death of Maelisa, December the 20th, 1091, he was elected to fill his place, and he held that office till 1105, under which year his obit is thus recorded by the Four Masters:

"Domhnall son of Amhalgaidh, chief successor of Patrick, went to Ath-cliath (Dublin), to make peace between Domhnall Ua Lochlainn and Muirchertach Ua Briain, where he took his death's sickness; and he was conveyed in his sickness to Domhnach-airthir-Eamhna, and he was anointed there. He was afterwards removed to the stone-church of Ard-macha, where he died on the 12th of August, being the festival of Laisren of Inis-Muiredhach; and he was buried with honor at Ard-macha."

Thus we perceive that his incumbency occupied the period between the close of 1091, and 1105, within which limits the shrine must have been executed.

The third name is that of the *maer* or keeper, Chathalan O Maelchallann. Of him there is no notice in the Annals, and the only instance where the surname occurs in them, anterior to 1432, is in the record, at the year 1012, of the death of Dubhtaichligh Ua Maelchallann, lord of Delbhna Beg, now the barony of Demifore, in the north-west of the county of Meath.* A branch of the family may have settled, anterior to the twelfth century, in

* Four Masters, Vol. ii. p. 768 (ed. O'Donovan); O'Dugan's Topographical Poem, pp. 10, ix.; Book of Rights, p. 183.

the diocese of Armagh, and obtained the official custody of the bell.* At a subsequent period we find the family located in the county of Tyrone, on the west side of Lough Neagh; and at still later times, to the north, in the modern county of Londonderry, and on the eastern margin of the lake, in the county of Antrim.†

The fourth name is that of the *cerd* or artificer who designed and executed the costly and beautiful work which covers the shrine. It was customary for the artist thus to record his name. On the shrine of the Soiscel of St. Molash, now in our collection, we find the name of *Gillabaithin* the Cerd; and on the Cathach of St. Collumcille, that of *Sittriuc son of Mac-Aedha*, the maker.‡ The family of Ua Inmainen was a southern one. Flaithbertach, king of Cashel in 920, 921, was son of Inmainen. O'Heerin, in his topographical poem, mentions O'h Ionmhainen as lord of Tuath-Saxan, a district in the north-west of the county of Cork, comprising the parish of Tullylease, of which a family bearing this name were the herenachs.§ It is likely that Cudulig O'Inmainen and his sons were of this

* In 1425 the vicarage of Teoffigalta, now Magherafelt, became vacant by the death of Malachias O'Mulchallyn. (Reg. Swayne, fol. 7, *b*). In 1432 Patrick O'Maolcallainn lost his life in O'Cahan's country, or Keenaght, in the county of Londonderry. (Four Mast.) In 1441 Patrick O'Mulchallynd, a keeper of this bell, held lands in Ballyclog, near Stewartstown. (Reg. Prene, fol. 111, *b*.) In 1458 Magonius O'Mulhallann was chief of a district in or near the parish of Inisthayde, now Bellaghy, at Lough-Beg, north of Lough Neagh. (Reg. Prene, fol. 11, *b*.) In this neighbourhood the name still prevails in the form Mulholland. Bernard O'Mulholland, grand-father of the last hereditary keeper, who was born in 1683, lived at Moyagoll, in the parish of Maghera, which joins Bellaghy on the north-west. This appears from a note in a copy of Bedell's Irish Bible, which accompanied the bell.

There is a townland Ballymulhollan in the parish of Magilligan, county of Londonderry.

† See Ulster Inquisitions, Co. Antrim, where the name occurs several times in connexion with lands in the parish of Killead, under the varieties of O'Mulchallen, O'Mulhallon, O'Mullhallane. No. 143, Car. I. Bryan Boy O'Mahallan was the last prior of Muckamore, in the adjoining parish. (Archdall, Monast. Hib. pp. 10, 781.)

‡ See Reeves' Adamnan's Columba, p. 319.

§ Topogr. Poems, pp. 110, lxx. (607). In 1042 Dunadhach hUa Inmaineain, airchinnech of Tulach-leis, died. (An. Inisfall.) In an ancient record of Cloyne diocese, the name appears in the form "O'Henwonhan de Tullales." (Caulfield's Rot. Pip. Clonensis, pp. 13, 18, 23, 49, 55); and they are now known as Noonans. See my paper in Ulster Journal of Archæol., Vol. vi., p. 272). The Four Mast. at 1230 mention a Donslevy O'Hinmainen, chief master of the carpenters of the monastery of Boyle. (Vol. iii. p. 253.)

race, and visited the north and other parts of the country, in the exercise of their calling, and according as their services were required.

The only difficulty in the inscription is the opening assertion, ⱡⲁⲅ ⲓ ⲛⲟⲉⲅⲛⲁⲟ ⲓⲛ ⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲅⲁ, "by whom *this bell* was made." This cannot reasonably be understood as referring to the bell proper, because it is hardly credible that a new bell should be made concurrently with its shrine, that a keeper should be then created for it, and that an inscription should be placed upon the shrine to record the fact that all this outlay of time, art, and money, had been expended on a work of yesterday,—a beautiful coffer made to contain an avowed counterfeit! The true exposition is, that the word ⲥⲓⲟϩ is here used instead of ⲥⲩⲙⲟⲁⲥⲏ, "cover," which is the term used on the Cathach of Columcille, and that, as the bell was to be sealed up, and not exposed to public view, the part presented to sight should borrow the name of the unseen tenant.* And then the concluding verb, ⲅⲟ ⲥⲩⲙⲧⲩⲓϩ, "who covered," is to be understood as equivalent to "who executed said cover." Had the bell proper been made at this date, the credit accruing to the king, abbot, and keeper, would be but very trifling, as the maker, patron, and guardian, of a piece of rude iron, while the great merit would be confined to O'Inmainen and his sons, whose generosity had provided the materials for the shrine, and whose skill had elaborated it: the truth is, all the merit claimed is for the execution of the case; the making of such a bell in the new was a trifle, and the king and primate who would ask a prayer in virtue of it would be placed in the dilemma of a farce or an imposture.

The elaborate and beautiful designs which appear in such luxuriance on this shrine are a study in Irish metallic art; and even if language could convey an idea of their effect, it must be in such detail and prolixity as to unfit it for a memoir which is in the main historical, and after all fail of conveying to the mind the impressions which faithful drawings produce, even after a momentary glance. A short account, therefore, of the con-

* This appears to have been the original design, as the slide at the bottom of the shrine which closes up the bell has holes, into which it would seem that rivets had formerly been inserted, to secure it from removal, and thus the bell, being long confined, left its indentation upon the floor where it rested.

struction, parts, and leading feature of the shrine will suffice on the present occasion.

The framework is of bronze, which has been secured at the corners with copper fluting. Upon this are fastened, by rivets, the gold and silver frames which contain the decorative work.

The apex, which receives the handle of the bell, is a sort of compressed mitre before and behind, and is firmly attached to the eaves of the four converging sides. On it are fastened silver gilt and silver frames, with curvilinear compartments for the insertion of ornamental panels of fillagree, scroll, and other work in gold and silver. The patterns on the front are more formal and minute, while those on the back, which are of silver, are bolder and more elegant. The principal feature of the latter is a semicircular field, divided down the middle, and having on each quadrant the erect figure of a grotesque bird in relief, enclosed and interlaced with convoluted lines.

The front of the shrine is divided into thirty-one compartments, symmetrically arranged. Four of these have lost entirely their ornamented panels, and shew the bare surface of the case;* four are occupied by oval lozenges of plain copper; the central boss is a crystal set in a circular frame of silver, which is of later and meaner work, and harmonizes badly with the elegance of the old; in a long compartment below this, on the right, is introduced an oval crystal, set in like material and workmanship with the boss. Seventeen of the compartments retain their original ornamentation, which consists of gold filagree, in various convoluted and interlaced patterns of great beauty and intricacy.

The sides are in more perfect condition than the front, owing to the substantial character of the work. The left side exhibits, above and below the circle which surrounds the handle, "ornaments of fine gold, representing

* Mr. Mac Clean mentioned, when he shewed me the shrine, in 1840, that when the article came into his possession he did not think it necessary to place it under lock and key; but that afterwards, finding bits of the ornaments had from time to time been abstracted by the servants and visitors, to be used as charms against disease and other evils, he was obliged to place it beyond their reach.

serpents, curiously and elegantly intertwined in most intricate folds, and in various knots. Below the knob and ring by which it is suspended, there are eight serpents, so singularly infolded and intermingled with one another, that it requires minute attention and considerable discrimination to trace each separately, and to distinguish it from its fellows. Their eyes are skilfully formed of blue glass. Above the cross are four of the same kind, and in each of the four compartments, into which it is divided, there are two golden serpents in relief. Below the knob of suspension, on the opposite end or side, are six other serpents with blue eyes, but differently intertwined. On the top is a strange representation of two of these creatures, with two legs. In the compartments of the cross are knots. On each of the two suspending knobs of the case (which are of silver), two of the sides and ends are also ornamented in a similar manner."*

On the back of the shrine is laid down a silver plate, which is cut through in a pattern that presents thirty-two Roman crosses, and twenty-two incomplete portions, so arranged that there are two perfect crosses in each row, alternating with those immediately above or below; thus exhibiting a design which is free from formality, and one of great lightness and grace. On the plain margin of this plate is engraved the commemorative inscription already noticed.

Attached to the rings of the knobs were portions of slender and curiously wrought bronze chains, by which the reliquary is supposed to have been suspended when carried in procession.

A sliding plate of bronze forms the floor of the shrine; and it appears from a number of small holes along its margins, and like perforations in the ledges on which it rested, to have been formerly secured by small pins, or a stitching of thin wire, so as to prevent the removal or exposure of the bell when lodged within. A large hole near one corner has been worked by the end of the clapper, where it permanently rested; and this must have been the work of ages, in like manner as the uneven edge or rim of the bell has left here and there indentations near the edges of the plate, being an evidence not only of the vast length of time during which the bell rested

* Stuart, Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh, p. viii.

on the plate, but also of its having been all the while undisturbed in its position. The existing irregularities of the bell exactly correspond to these impressions; and the tongue, when confined obliquely in one of the corners of the bell by the closing of its mouth, gradually worked a hole in its efforts for liberty of action during the lapse of centuries.

Owing to some cause now unknown, possibly superior jurisdiction, or usurpation, there was a temporary intermission in the enjoyment of the custody of this bell by the O'Mulchallans; for the Four Masters, at 1356, record the death of a chieftain, high in favour with the church, who, being of a different family, was at that date in possession of it:—

Solaṁ OMeallán maor cluig an eḋachta ḋég. Ꝑeċeṁ coitċenn do cliar-aiḃ Ereann eṙiḋe.	"Solomon O'Mellan, keeper of the Bell-of the Will, died. He was the general patron of the clergy of Ireland."*

The O'Mellans were a family who possessed great influence in this and the following century in the diocese of Armagh, and furnished to the cathedral a dean and some other functionaries, who from time to time espoused the Irish interest in opposition to the Anglican archbishops, and, in consequence, occasionally figure in the registers of the see as incurring the severest ecclesiastical censures. So late as 1609 we find a branch of them located in the parish of Armagh, and occupying the see lands of Lurgyvallen.†

It is probable that on the death of the above mentioned Solomon O'Mellan, the custody reverted to the O'Mulchallans; for, nine years afterwards, it comes to view again as in the hands of Cuulad O'Mulchallan.

The Bell of St. Patrick, having now acquired fresh importance from the beauty and value of its case, invested its keeper, for the time being, with proportionate dignity and consideration. As the property of the see, the archbishop of Armagh claimed the right of deprivation or transfer, and the lands which were enjoyed by the keeper in virtue of its custody, being

* Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan, Vol. iii. p. 609.

† The sept of Owen oge O'Mellane, in the land of Lorga Iwallane, Lurga Ui Ṁeallán, 'the low ridge (*lit.* shin) of O'Mellan'. See Inquisitions of Ulster, Append. Armagh.

herenach lands, were also subject to the Primate's disposal, respect being had to prescriptive and vested interest.

These lands were situate in the east of the county of Tyrone, near Stewartstown, and, from their connexion with this reliquary, were called baile chluig, "town of the bell," and gave to the parish which contained them the name of Ballyclog. This interesting fact is learned incidentally from a cancelled observation in a record to be presently given, wherein Patrick O'Mulchallynd, the keeper, is described as "of Ballyclog."

Such was the feeling of respect entertained towards the keeper of this bell in the year 1365, that the Primate formally granted to him and his clan a special exemption from the operation of any interdict which circumstances might render necessary to be laid upon the diocese; and the instrument which conveys this privilege, as well as some others which are to follow, is of great interest, because drawn from a source totally different from those that have thus far been employed, which have represented the secular feeling, while this is a strictly ecclesiastical document, and shows in what light such objects were regarded by the highest functionaries of the Church. It is copied from the oldest existing register of the see of Armagh, namely, that of Milo Sweteman, who filled the Primacy from 1361 to 1380:—

"*Privilegium indultum nationi Ymulkallan pro tempore habenti Campanam Sancti Patricii tempore generalis Interdicti:*

Pateat per presentes quod nos Milo, Dei et Apostolice sedis gratia, Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, Hibernie Primas, de unanimi voluntate et assensu Decani et Capituli nostri Ardmachani, damus, et ex speciali privilegio concedimus, dilecto nobis in Christo filio Cuulad Omolkall[an] et suis successoribus, ac omnibus de natione sua, aliisque suis subditis, in terris seu in tenementis Campane Sancti Patricii patroni nostri in diocesi nostra situatis, quod si contingat nos, vel aliquem alium nomine nostro, seu aliquem officiarium nostrum aut ecclesie nostre, aliquibus ex causis terras cujuscumque domini superioris ibidem generaliter interdixisse, seu personas et loco ecclesiastico generali interdicto supposuisse, Volumus quod dictus Cuulad et sui successores, ac alii de natione ipsius ut premittitur, ac ipsorum terre infra districtum dicte campane situate, hujusmodi interdicto generali non ligentur, sed quod dictum interdictum quo ad ipsum Cuulad et quemlibet ipsorum pro non promulgato ex tunc ut ex nunc habeatur, nisi dictus Cuulad aut aliquis de suis causam hujusmodi dederit interdicto, aut nisi ex justa causa per nos, vel

interdictum prefatum proferentem, quod idem Cuulad sive sui tali interdicto ligentur expressa mentio inveniatur. Sub tali tamen condicione quod idem Cuulad, et sui successores qui pro tempore fuerint, auctoritate ac privilegio antedicte campane, omnes res nostras ac subditorum et tenencium nostrorum, spirituales et temporales, a quibuscunque transgressoribus, furibus, raptoribus, vel qualitercunque ac sub quocunque colore usurpatoribus, sub exactione sive executione sua constitutis, nobis ac nostris subditis, ut premittitur, exigat sive exigant; aut super ipsos, auctoritate dicte nostre campane, prout moris est, jejunabit seu jejunabunt. Ad quod eciam manucapimus promittimus et consedimus dicto Cuulad et suis successoribus, contra hujusmodi malefactores, in juvamen ipsius ac suorum successorum, ad ipsorum requisicionem, per censuras ecclesiasticas canonice ac rigide procedere. Et quod idem Cuulad et sui successores excommunicatum sive [excommunicatos], interdictum sive interdictos quacunque ratione a nobis, aut aliquo nomine nostro vel ecclesie nostre [Ardmachane patro] cinium auxilium tuicionem seu defensionem suam, auctoritate siue privilegio dicte cam[pane sciens non] admittat nec recipiat, siue scientes non admittant nec recipiant, et si [ipse aut ipsi] admiserit vel admiserint, quam citius noverit seu noverint, a suo patrocin[io prorsus a]bjiciat atque abjiciant. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum unacum [sigillo communi Decani et Capituli nostri Ard] machani presentibus apposuimus. Datum apud Tarmef[eghyn], die Mercurii proximo ..... [anno Domini Millesim]o ccc^{mo}. lxv^{to}. et nostre consecrationis anno quarto."*

Throughout this instrument there is reference to the O'Neills and other *domini superiores*, who were making continual encroachments upon the lands of the Church, and to curb which, the Primates were often obliged to have recourse to the severe measure of laying their territory under an interdict. The operation of such an interdict would be to include all the subordinate interests. Now, the Mulholland being a *dominus inferior*, would necessarily be involved in the penalty where his superior was an offender, and this instrument was to exempt him and his, as tenants of the see, from such consequences. His possessions seem to have been considerable, and his retainers numerous. And there is one clause of special interest, namely, that which conditions for his putting into execution, when required, with a view to the recovery of stolen property, or the obtaining reparation for injury done to the Primate or his tenants, the old Irish practice of fasting against the transgressors, under the authority of the said bell, thus drawing

* Registrum Milonis Sweteman, fol. 28, *b*.

down upon them the visitations of vengeance which were due to those who violated or disregarded this sanctified instrument of retribution.

In the interim between 1365 and 1425, the Archbishop appears to have again exercised his right of transferring the custody of the bell, for we learn incidentally from the Four Masters, at the latter of these dates, that it had reverted to the custody of O'Mellan:—

"O'Neill and Owen O'Neill, Naghtan O'Donnell, and Mac-I-Neill Boy, Mac Quillin, Mac Donnell Galloglach, and O'Mellan, keeper of the Bell of St. Patrick's Will, who happened to be in the house of the Earl [of March] were taken prisoners by Lord Furnival, an English Earl, after the death of the Earl of March; and he conveyed these chieftains as prisoners to Dublin."

Here O'Mellan, the keeper, takes rank as a chieftain with some of the highest northern magnates.

We have not the means of ascertaining what connexion existed between O'Mellan and O'Mulchallan, whether they were of the same blood, or whether the latter was subordinate to the former; but it is remarkable that seven years after we find a member of either family in close combination, and suffering a like fate. A. D. 1432, "O'Neill, that is, Domhnall Bog, the son of Henry Aimhreidh, was slain in O'Kane's country by the two sons of Dermot O'Kane, that is, Donnell and Aibhne, assisted by the O'Kanes in general, after they had taken [by assault] the house in which he was. Donnell O'Neill, *Patrick O'Maoilcallainn and the son of O'Meallain were also slain.*"

Nine years after this, a document appears in Primate Prene's Register, which again couples the names of O'Mellan and O'Mulchallan, and with special reference to this very bell:—

"*Privacio Custodis Campane Sancti Patricii propter ejus demerita.*

Universis Christi fidelibus has literas visuris vel audituris, Johannes Dei et Apostolice sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Armachanus Hibernie Primas salutem in Domino sempiternam. Nos vero considerantes qualiter a diutino tempore Johannes O'Mellan, qui se gerit pro sue nacionis capitaneo, et altero custode campane beatissimi patroni nostri Patricii, ut ex permissione nostre ecclesie metropolitice ac Primacialis Armachane, prelatique pro tempore in eadem, tanquam officiario in ea parte eisdem ecclesie et prelato, de

fidelitate et obedientia, et de ipsius campane quam diu meruerit illius custodiam, pro ecclesie disposicione voluntate et beneplacito, de bono regimine et ejus cura, eciam de exitibus racione dicte campane plurimum privilegiate, juratus existit ad compotum fidelem reddendum; Premissa itaque perpendens non ipse quod a tam diuturno pro nostri et immediati predecessoris tempore, se non obtulit ad mittendum et reddendum sui compotum in premissis, nec eciam contentus quod inobediens et non fidelis post et contra dictum juramentum ecclesie et ejus prelato prestitum, nonnullas ecclesie terras, eciam preter et contra prelati et tenencium beneplacitum, usurpasset occupasset pariter et detinuisset, prout usurpat detinet et occupat. Ex hiis et pro non solucione reddituum earundem, suspensionis excommunicacionis et interdicti sententias nonnullas dampnabiliter incurrendo, eciam auctoritate apostolica pro manutenencia Karoli Omellan in Decanatu Armachano intrusi, quod a septem annis et ultra suspensus excommunicatus et interdictus animo sustinuit prout sustinet indurato, claves alme matris ecclesie nequiter contempnendo, unde quod plus eminet ipsum pro heretico senceri quam pro ecclesie filio humili aut fideli prout indignum se reddit, consideratis ex premissis considerandis, nedum ad campane custodiam sed officium quodlibet privilegii patrocinii commodi aut honoris: Quocirca, quousque alias meruerit, satisfactione previa ex commissis, ab hujusmodi sententiis et censuris in forma juris absolutionis beneficium et in integrum restitui obtinere, cum non jura volunt ut qui ecclesie offendit ejus gaudere debeat immunitate patrocinio aut privilegio quibuscunque, Ipsum omni officio ac patrocinio et privilegio quibus, presertim occasione custodie dicte campane ac alias nomine ecclesie fuerit preferendus et reputat se fulsitum, privamus tenore presentium et denudamus, ac privatum et denudatum pronunciamus decernimus et declaramus, sequestramusque campanam hujusmodi et sub arto sequestro in custodia omnino Patricii Omulchallynd alterius custodis,* sue nationis capitanei, quousque pro dispositione ecclesie alias fuerit ordinatum, volumus permanere, Mandantes omnibus et singulis nostris subditis et subjectis ecclesiasticis ac secularibus nostre provincie quibuscunque, ne dicto Johanni Omellan, ratione dicte campane vel alterius ecclesie officii patrocinii aut privilegii, de aliquibus fructibus proventibus custumis juribus obvencionibus aut emolumentis quisquam respondeat sibi pareat vel intendat, ymmo tanquam omni privilegio privatum et denudatum suspensum excommunicatum ac interdictum quo supra reputet publicet atque credat, et communionem suam pestiferam et dampnabilem procuret attencius evitare et facere evitari, sub dictarum suspensionis excommunicationis ac interdicti sententiarum penis, quas quemlibet contrafacientem, ix. dierum termino pro monicione canonica precedente, incurrere volumus ipso facto. Insuper per presentes firmiter injungendo mandantes universis et singulis viris ecclesiasticis quibuscunque per nostram

* The passage at first stood thus: *Patricii Omulchallynd de Ballyclug*, but the last two words are cancelled, and the clause from *alterius* to *capitanei* written over them.

provinciam Armachanam ubilibet constitutis, quatenus has nostras literas sive saltem effectum earundem, pro diebus ac locis ubi quociens ac quando coram majori populi congregacione opportuerit et visum fuerit expedire, intimetis publicetis nuncietis insinuate ac notificetis, nec cessetis quousque aliud desuper habueritis in mandatis, sub excommunicationis late sentencie pena in hiis scriptis, quam singulares personas contrafacientes, trium dierum termino pro monicione canonica precedente, incurrere volumus ipso facto. Datum sub nostro sigillo in crastino Trinitatis apud Dundalke nostre Ardmachane diocesis, anno Domini millesimo cccc^mo^xli., et nostre consecrationis anno secundo."*

The above instrument is followed immediately by another bearing upon the same subject:—

"*Sequestracio Campane Sancti Patricii propter demerita Custodis illius.*

"Johannes, &c., dilecto in Christo filio Patricio Omulchallynd sue nationis capitaneo alterique custodi campane beatissimi patroni nostri Patricii, salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Cum nos Johannem Omellan, qui se gerit pro sue nationis capitaneo et altero custode campane predicte, ex diversis suis demeritis, cum non jura volunt ut qui ecclesie offendit ejus gaudere debeat immunitate patrocinio aut privilegio quibuscunque, ipsum omni officio patrocinio ac privilegio quibus presertim occasione custodie dicte campane ac alias nomine ecclesie fuerit preferendus et reputat se fulsitum, privaverimus et denudaverimus, ac privatum et denudatum pronunciaverimus decreverimus et declaraverimus sub certis modo et forma, ut in aliis nostris literis patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur. Et quia sequestravimus et tenore presentium sequestramus campanam hujusmodi, volentes ipsam in vestra custodia sub arto sequestro permanere, quousque pro disposicione ecclesie quid alias sit agendum inde fuerit ordinatum. Hinc est quod vobis, in virtute obedientie et sub suspensionis excommunicationis et interdicti sententiarum penis, quas nisi feceris quod mandamus, novem dierum termino pro monicione canonica precedente te incurrere volumus ipso facto, tenore presencium districte precipiendo mandamus quod hujusmodi campanam in tui custodia fideliter conserues, illam dicto Johanni vel cuicunque alteri non tradendam ipsius nomine, quousque super hiis aliud a nobis specialiter habueritis in mandatis; ymmo procures studiose dictam campanam adeo conservare quo non inde nobis et ecclesie fidelem compotum pro loco et tempore congruis et requisitis fueris redditurus, ymmo de tuis fidelitate et obedientia causam habeamus tibi merito regratificandi. Datum sub nostro sigillo, xiii. die Juhii, anno Domini, &c., et nostre consecracionis anno secundo."†

* Regist. Johannis Prene, fol. 111, *a*, *b*. † Ibid., fol. 111, *b*.

The revenues arising from the privileges of this bell appear to have been considerable, accruing partly from lands and partly from dues payable to the keeper or keepers.

In 1455, the keeper of the Book of Armagh, styled *Bajulator Canonis*, and the keeper of St. Patrick's bell, seem to have usurped and appropriated to themselves the "firstlings of flocks," a tribute which of right belonged to the see in virtue of the successorship of St. Patrick. On the 14th of November in that year, Primate Mey issued a mandate inhibiting all persons in arrear of their payments of *Primogenita pecudum* from rendering the same to certain unauthorized claimants, "et presertim tam Bajulatori Canonis quam Custodi Campane sancti Patricii, qui ut asserunt et nituntur, licet nulliter et injuste, pretendentes quod predicta primogenita ad illos racione suorum officiorum pretextu Canonis et Campane predictorum, ut accepimus, spectare deberent."*

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Primates to restrain the turbulent O'Mellans, and to reinstate the O'Mulchallans in the possession of the bell, we find the former again in office, and committing an outrage upon their spiritual superior. On the 11th of April, 1466, Primate Bole addressed to Carolus O'Mellan, Dean, the Canons, the Collidei, the Regular Canons, the Guardian of the Friars Minors, and the rest of the clergy of Armagh, letters executorial against "Twoll et Johannes O'Mellan, qui se pro ecclesiasticis et privilegiatis personis gerunt," who had sacrilegiously stolen and carried off two horses belonging to him, in which he states that, for the purpose of punishing them and their abettors,

"Civitatem nostram Armachanam et totum decanatum de Erther ecclesiastico supposuimus, prout per presentes supponimus, interdicto, necnon ipsos ab omni privilegio immunitate et patrocinio necnon commodo et utilitate quibus se fulsitos ratione Campane Sancti Patricii custodie fore reputant, privamus tenore presencium et amovemus."†

At this stage our record evidence terminates, and we hear nothing further of the bell, but we know that the O'Mulchallans repossessed them-

* Regist. Johannis Mey, lib. iv. fol. 46 (p. 477).

† Regist. Octaviani del Palacio, fol. 249 *b*.

selves of it. In 1758 Bernard Mulhollan died at Moyagoll, in the parish of Maghera, aged seventy-five years. He had a son called Edmond, who lived at Edenduffcarrick, beside the demesne of Shane's Castle, in the capacity of under-agent to the O'Neill family. His son, Henry Mulholland, was educated for the priesthood, but, being unwilling or unable to take holy orders, he became a schoolmaster, and followed this occupation in the village of Edenduffcarrick,* where he had as a pupil the late Adam MacClean, who afterwards rose to great eminence as a merchant in Belfast. Mulholland, having implicated himself in the rebellion of 1798, was exposed to great danger, and would have been brought to punishment but for the friendly interference of his former scholar, Mr. MacClean. The memory of this service, as well as gratitude for pecuniary assistance which he received in the decline of his life, led him, when on his death-bed, to express his feelings in words to this effect, as I had them from Mr. MacClean: "My dear friend, you were an old and valued scholar of mine; on one occasion you were the means of saving my life, and on many subsequent occasions of providing for its comforts; I am now going to die; I have no child to whom I might leave the little I possess, nor have I any near of kin who might prefer any claim to it: in either case the treasure I possess, and which I hold dear as life, should not have left the family of Mulholland, in which it has been for ages and generations handed down; but I am the last of my race, and you are the best friend I have. I therefore give it to you, and when I am gone, dig in the garden at a certain spot, and you will find a box there; take it up and preserve its contents for my sake." Mr. MacClean did so, and came upon an oak box, on opening which he found this bell and shrine, and beside them a worn copy of Bedell's quarto Irish Bible.

This communication was made to me about the year 1840, at which time Mr. MacClean was living in Donegal-square, Belfast. The bell was in his possession in 1819, as Stuart states in his Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh, printed in that year. The whole of this work, except the Preface, was printed off before he became acquainted with the existence of the bell, and he has inserted, between the Preface and Introduction, a very

* The village of Edenduffcarrick is now completely obliterated, and its site included in the grounds of Shane's Castle park.

interesting descriptive article of four pages on the subject, entitled "Curious Relic of Antiquity." He was unable, however, to do more than give a short extract from the inscription on the shrine. In 1847 it was fully set forth and interpreted in the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor, and, with fresh matter, in the Introduction to the beautiful chromo-lithographic drawings of the bell and the four sides of the shrine, published by Marcus Ward and Co., Belfast, 1850.*

It will be observed that throughout this paper I have assumed that the bell which passed from Henry Mulholland to Mr. Adam MacClean, and from his executors to Dr. Todd, and which I have now before me, is *the Bell of St. Patrick's Will.* I put forward this statement in 1847,† and again in 1850,‡ in opposition to the received opinion that the Bell of the Will was in Dr. Petrie's collection; and I was led to this conclusion, not by the direct assertion of any one document, but a combined view of the varied evidence which came from different quarters, and may be briefly stated thus:—

1. *Inscription.*—O'Maelchallann, keeper of the bell in 1100;

2. *Annals.*—O'Mellan, keeper of the Bell of St. Patrick's Will, in 1356 and 1425;

3. *Registers.*—O'Molkallan, keeper of St. Patrick's Bell in 1365; O'Mellan and O'Molcallan, joint keepers of St. Patrick's Bell in 1441; O'Mellan deprived, and O'Molcallan constituted sole keeper of St. Patrick's Bell in 1441; O'Mellan, again keeper of St. Patrick's Bell in 1466.

Accordingly we find the Bell of the Will in O'Mellan's keeping; and the reliquary thus in O'Mellan's custody sometimes shared by O'Mulholland;

* In the following year there appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, pp. 367–378, a communication from Mr. Adam Dickey, of Low Park, Cullybackey, dated April, 1851, in which the writer gave proof of his critical qualifications by asserting, in correction of my statements, that O'Mellan and O'Mullholland are the same name, only differently written! Indeed the whole article is worse than valueless, and is rather a glorification of the Dickey family than a contribution to sound knowledge.

† Ecclesiast. Antiqq. of Down, Connor, and Dromore, p. 371.

‡ Five Chromo-lithographic Drawings of an Irish Ecclesiastical Bell, Introd. p. 2, Plate I. (Belfast, 1850).

and the custody in which O'Mulholland shared sometimes limited to himself; and the custody thus limited to himself, as indicated in the inscription to be his original right, and within recollection to have been enjoyed by a person of the same name, who inherited the possession from his forefathers.

The latter half of the Annals of the Four Masters was published in 1848, and the notes of the editor were, for the most part, written previously to the appearance of my *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore.* In commenting on the name *Clog-an-Eadhachta*, at the year 1356, Dr. O'Donovan thus writes: "It was evidently so-called because it was mentioned in an ancient document called the uḋaċt, or Testament of St. Patrick. This bell still exists in excellent preservation, and is now in the Cabinet of George Petrie, Esq. . . . . It had belonged to the church of Donaghmore, near Dungannon in Tyrone."*

Again, at 1425, he deals with the same subject in these words: "*Bell of St. Patrick's Will*, i. e. the bell willed by St. Patrick to one of his disciples. It is mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, part ii. c. 142, that he left a bell and little ritual to his disciple Columbus, in the territory of Imchlair, a district in Tyrone. This bell is preserved in Mr. Petrie's Cabinet of Antiquities."†

The passage referred to is as follows: "Quibus in suscepta fide instruendis ac refouendis, præfecit Columbum præsbyterum: cui & suum cymbalum, et libellum ritualem reliquit."‡ The ambiguous employment of *reliquit* here gave rise to the testamentary notion which represented the bell of Donaghmore as that of the Will. But, in a memoir of this Bell, which was published in 1850, I objected to that interpretation, observing that "this word *left* denotes in the original the gift of an itinerant rather than the bequest of a testator."§ And this view has since been fully confirmed by the Irish original, which thus disposes of the point in question:—

1ꝛ ꝛeȯ ꝺochoꝼ ıaꝼꝼꝛıꝺ co ꝼıꝼu 1mchlaıꝼ eꝺ baꝼꝛıꝼꝺauıꝛ eꝺ beneꝼoıxıꝛ eoꝼ. ꝼoꝼaꝺ-	"He went after this to the men of Imchlair, and baptized and blessed them. He

* Vol. iii. p. 609 (Collective Edition). † Vol. iv. p. 864. ‡ Colgan, Trias Thaum., p. 148, *b*.
§ "St. Patrick's Bell and Shrine," p. 2. (Marcus Ward and Co., Belfast, 1850.)

caib leo cruimther Columb acur lebor eircora Patricc ocur a chlocc leis. Bid dana na ferta coro indiu.*	left with them presbyter Columb, and Patrick's ritual book, and his bell with it. And these things remain to this day among them working virtues.

Here the verb forraccaib governs Columb, book, and bell, which, even supposing that it admitted of the testamentary sense, would require a double zeugma to exempt the recipients from being included in the chattels.

It is but just to state that the learned editor, in the early portion of the Annals, which subsequently appeared, when the Bell again comes under his notice at 1044, refers the reader to the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor, &c., pp. 370 to 375.†

Finding the names of Patrick O Maoilcallainn and the son of O Meallain combined in the Annals at 1432, he appends this note:—"These were the hereditary keepers of two celebrated bells which had belonged to St. Patrick. O'Mellan's bell is now in the Cabinet of Mr. Petrie, and O'Mulholland's is in the possession of Adam Mac Clean, Esq., of Belfast. The latter has the name Ua Maelchallaind engraved upon it."‡

Thus the Bell of the Will is assigned to O'Mellan, while another is produced for the Mulhollands, which must be either the *Finn-faidech*, "Sweet-sounding,"§ or the *Clog-timchill*, "Bell of the Circuit" of Armagh. But there is no authority for this statement, and it is opposed to the tenor of the Armagh Registers, which speak but of one bell, and give O'Mellan and O'Mulholland a joint or alternate interest in it.

The late Professor O'Curry, in reference to this object, observes:—"Many beautiful and ancient relics, however, still remain in private hands;

* Brit. Mus. MS., Egerton, 93, fol. 11, *a b.* † *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 846.

‡ *Ut supra*, vol. iv. p. 887.

§ This epithet was not confined to St. Patrick's bell, for O'Curry cites a passage: "Mac-Creiché raised his *Finnfaidheeh* on high at seeing his kinsmen dead;" where he observes: "This was the name of one of St. Patrick's most sacred and celebrated bells; but the name appears to have been also given by some of his disciples and successors to their own favourite bells, as in the present case." Lectures on Irish MSS., p. 631. *Ceolan*, or "Musical," was the title of the Bell of St. Tighernach of Clones. Mart. Doneg. Introd. (Append.), p. xxxi.; Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, as cited at p. 30, *infra;* O'Donovan, Ann. Four Mast., vol. iii. p. 31.

and perhaps the most remarkable of all these is the Bell of St. Patrick, with its magnificent shrine, now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Todd, and which, we have every reason to believe, is actually the *Finn Faidheach*, or 'sweet-sounding,'* that was once used by the Saint himself, and which was made for him by *Mac Cecht*, one of his three smiths."†

Besides the notice of the maker of this last-named bell in the Tripartite Life, we have three references to it in the Annals of the Four Masters :—

(I.) In the year 945, "The full of the Finnfadhach of silver [was given] by the Cinel Eoghain for the blessing of Patrick and his successor at that time, i. e. Joseph." ‡

(II.) "A. D. 1012, a great depredation [was made] upon the Conailli by Maelseachlainn, in revenge of the profanation of the Finnfaidheach, and of the breaking of Patrick's crozier by the Conailli, i. e. by the sons of Cucuailgne."§

(III.) A. D. 1020, the Shrine of Patrick, and the Finnfaidheach of Patrick, were robbed by the plunderers, by Ua hAidith, and [the people of] Lower Ui-Eathach (Iveagh); and they carried off with them seven hundred cows."‖

Surely this word *Finnfaidhech* is not likely to have been another name for the *Bell of the Will;* because that bell is mentioned in the same Annals at 1044, under its proper name. And we have evidence that the Finnfaidhech was in existence, and was known by that name, towards the close of the twelfth century. The same testimony also accounts for its disappearance from further notice, and affords satisfactory proof that it is *not* the bell which is the subject of this paper.

We are told in Finghin MacCarthaich's account of the subjugation of Ulster in 1177,¶ that—

"An expedition was led by Maelseachlainn O'Lochlainn, with the Cinel-Eoghain, and Ruaidhri Mac Duinnshlebhe, with the Ultonians, and Giolla-an-Coimghe O'Ciaran, Comarb of Patrick, with the reliquaries of the north of Erinn, and with his clergy, to Dun, to recover it from John [de Courcy]; and when they reached it, they fled without

* It was one of the sacred Bells of Armagh. See Martyrol. Doneg., Introd. (Append.), p. xxxi.

† Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, p. 337.

‡ *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 657. This entry is copied from the Annals of Ulster, 946.

§ *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 771. ‖ *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 797.

¶ The Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, which treats of this expedition at the year

assault, without conflict, and left the Comarb of Patrick with his clergy, and the Canon of Patrick, and the *Finnfaidhech of Patrick*, and the Bell of the Circuit of Armagh, and the staff of Comgall, and the Ceolan of Tighernach, and the staff of Dachiarog of Arcail, and the staff of Eimhim, and the staff of Mura, and many other reliquaries. . . . . The Comarb of Patrick was taken captive there, and the Saxons let him go of their own accord; and the Canon of Patrick, and the Ceolan of Tighernach, were brought back from the foreigners, after being left in the slaughter, when the clerical students were killed; but the foreigners have all the other reliquaries to the present time."*

It appears from the foregoing account, that the Canon of Patrick, now known as "The Book of Armagh," fell into the hands of the Anglo-Norman invaders, but that they gave it back, possibly regarding it as a religious service-book, or finding nothing in itself or cover to tempt the cupidity of its unlettered captors. But it fared otherwise with all the other reliquaries, except the Bell of Clones, which may have been an unadorned iron shell. The Bell of the Will, with its then gorgeous shrine, would surely have been considered too great a prize to be readily surrendered by a band of needy soldiers, had it fallen into their hands; but, for some cause or other, it was not brought upon the expedition, and thus it escaped the appropriation which its artistic fellows had to undergo; being destined to survive the chances and changes, the calamities and accidents, of nearly seven centuries longer, and then, in quiet old age, to enjoy a repose which bids fair to be as lasting as it is secure.

1177, does not mention the Finnfaidhech by name, and the only one which it specially notices is the Celoan an Tiaġearna, "the Lord's Bell," more properly designated, as in the text, Ceolan Tiġernuiġ—"Musical *bell* of Tighernach," so-called from the founder and patron saint of Clones. The Annals of Innisfallen mention four objects, adding, "and many other Relicks were taken by the English, ... and they returned unto them the Canon of St. Patrick, with the aforesaid Bell. . . . . The English have ever since possessed the other holy Relicks," MS. Roy. Ir. Acad. $\frac{23}{E}$, p. 175. See O'Donovan's note, Ann. Four Masters, 1177, vol. iii. p. 31.

* Martyrology of Donegal, Append. to Introd., p. xxxi.

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[FEBRUARY, 1879.]

THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

VOLUME XXVII.

POLITE LITERATURE AND ANTIQUITIES.

II.—*On an Ogam Inscription.* By the Right Rev. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D., M. R. I. A., Lord Bishop of Limerick, &c. [With Plate I.]

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1879.

II.—*On an Ogam Inscription.*—By the Right Rev. Charles Graves, D. D., M. R. I. A., Lord Bishop of Limerick, &c. [With Plate I.]

[Read May 13, 1878.]

The monument represented in the accompanying Plate was found by Mr. Richard Hitchcock in the Killeen of Aglish, a disused burial-ground in the parish of Minard, Co. Kerry,* and by him placed in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Objecting strongly, as he did, to the removal of monuments from the places where they originally stood, he must have had reason to suppose, either that it was exposed to injury—as no doubt has been the fate of many of our most ancient sepulchral monuments, which have been broken or buried by persons making recent graves—or that it was likely to be carried away by some mason who wanted a lintel-stone, or by some traveller who desired to add it to his own collection. If it could not be left with safety to stand where it was placed, twelve or thirteen hundred years ago, at the head of a Christian grave, it is well that it should be preserved in a Museum like ours, where it is an object of at least an antiquarian interest.

The cross within a circle, which appears upon it, is generally regarded as peculiarly Irish. It will be remarked that the outline of the cross is formed, not by straight lines, but by arcs of circles. Examples of it occur on Christian monuments in Ireland, supposed to belong to the fifth or sixth centuries. Other instances are known to me of its use on monuments bearing Ogam inscriptions; and on every anniversary of St. Patrick's Day we may see crosses of this or some similar pattern worn on the breasts of chil-

* Ordnance Survey Sheet, No. 54.

dren in our streets: it is commonly called a Patrick's cross, and I believe the name appropriate. The so-called monogram of Constantine ☧ closed within a circle, is, no doubt, to be seen on ancient Christian monuments and frescoes in Rome; and the symbolic import of the circle is thus explained in an inscription found at Milan:

> Circulus hic summi comprendit nomina regis
> Quem sine principio et sine fine vides.

De Rossi and other antiquaries are inclined to believe that the cross formed by two diameters of a circle ⊕ perpendicular to each other is a representation of the *panis eucharisticus.* From Comte Melchior de Vogüe's work on the Architecture of Central Syria we learn that crosses thus enclosed in circles were frequently sculptured on lintel-stones over the doors or on the friezes of churches and monastic buildings in that country; and some of these crosses are actually identical in form with the ancient Irish cross now under consideration—the outlines of the cross being formed of arcs of circles. As the buildings on which they appear were probably erected in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, it is possible that this form of cross may have been introduced from the East by some of the pilgrim monks who visited Ireland in the very early period of the history of Christianity. But I shall not be surprised if I am told that examples of the use of this Patrick's cross are to be found amongst the ancient Christian remains of Italy and France.

Of the symbol under the cross, which seems to represent a spear or arrow, I do not venture to offer any explanation, though I have no doubt that it was intended to have a meaning. For the present, it is enough to observe that the same symbol appears under the similar cross inscribed on an Ogam monument at Kilcolman, near Dingle. The practised eye of Mr. Clibborn has detected, at each side of this arrow-symbol, a small *swastika* 卐 which I had failed to notice, though I had often and carefully

observed the stone. This disguised form of the cross only appeared in the Roman Catacombs towards the end of the third century, and held its ground on the monuments of the fourth. It was probably introduced into Ireland in or soon after the time of S. Patrick, who was accompanied by ecclesiastics called Romani, either because they were natives of Rome, or had resided in that city. I have met with no evidence to show that it was ever used in Ireland in pre-Christian times.

Little doubt can be entertained as to the mode of reading this inscription. The characters are distinct, and give the legend—

MAQI MAQA
APILOGDO

the first line being on the right, the second on the left-hand side of the stone. I am bound indeed to mention, that Sir Samuel Ferguson was at one time of opinion that the name was to be read APILOSTO, and regarded as an anagram of APOSTOLI; but I doubt whether he still adheres to that opinion. The four strokes which he took to represent the character which stands for Z, or ST, form two groups—the first of which is certainly G, and the second is almost as certainly D. No doubt could remain on this head if we were assured that the flaw which is observable at this part of the edge had existed at the time when the inscription was made. (Note A.)

With respect to this name, APILOGDO, I have to remark—first, that Irish scribes frequently made *p* to stand for *bh;* it was then pronounced with the sound of the English *v*; and, secondly, that the English *v* sometimes took the place of the Irish *dh* in proper names. For instance, Glasnevin is the present name of *Glas Naoidhen;* and Neville is the English form given to the Irish name of *O'Neidhe.* Other examples of the same change in orthography might be adduced. These points being established, it becomes evident that the name is the Ogam equivalent of AEDHLOGODH, the genitive case of a well-known proper name. (Note B.)

We possess materials which enable us, almost certainly, to determine who this person was. I think I shall be able to show that he was a chieftain living in the sixth century, in the neighbourhood of the place where the monument was found. The materials which furnish us with the pre-

misses leading to this conclusion are, for the most part, gathered from the ancient pedigrees of the descendants of Fergus M'Roich. In the first place, we have the pedigree of the O'Connor Kerry, as given by M'Firbis. It is as follows:—

CONCHABHAR (living in 1650).
1. m. Seaain.
2. m. Conchabhair.
3. m. Conchabhair.
4. m. Diarmada.
5. m. Conchabhair.
6. m. Diarmada.
7. m. Mathgamhna.
8. m. Diarmada Sluaghaigh.
9. m. Mathgamhna.
10. m. Cuirc.
11. m. m. Bethach.
[12. m. Muireadhaigh Claen.]
13. m. CONCHABHAIR (from whom the tribe takes its name).
14. m. Cathail.
15. m. Aodha.
16. m. Taidhg.
17. m. Ruaidrigh.
18. m. Con Luachra.
19. m. Diarmada.
20. m. Conchabhair.
21. m. Finn.
22. m. Maoileachlain.
23. m. Flann Feorna.
24. m. Colmain.
25. m. Cobhthaigh.
26. m. Rechtabrat.
27. m. *Maoltuile.*
28. m. *Aodha logha.*
29. m. Durthacht.
30. m. Senaigh.
31. m. Rethach.
32. m. Ferba.
33. m. Iomchada.
34. m. Ebric.
35. m. Mochuine.
36. m. Auluim.
37. m. Mesicon.
38. m. Saula.
39. m. Mogha Airt.
40. m. Orbsen mair.
41. m. Eachadaon.
42. m. Aithre.
43. m. Eochamuin.
44. m. Fiodmuine.
45. m. Dealbna.
46. m. Eonna.
47. m. Laimne.
48. m. Ulsaigh.
49. m. Asdomain.
50. m. Mogha tuath (no taoi).
51. m. Cer.
52. m. FERGUSA.

It will be observed that, according to this pedigree, Aedhlogha, father of Maoltuile, was seventeen generations above Mac Beatha, who was doubtless the lord of Ciarraige Luachra, mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters," as having been slain in the battle of Clontarf (A. D. 1014). Dr. O'Donovan, in his note on the passage, says—"He was evidently the an-

cestor of O'Connor Kerry, though in the pedigrees the only Mac Beatha to be found is made Mac Beatha, son of Muireadhach Claen, son of Conchobhar, the progenitor from whom the O'Connor Kerry derive their hereditary surname."

Taking account of Dr. O'Donovan's correction, and allowing thirty years to a generation, we should place Aedhlogha as having lived in the early part of the sixth century. This determination admits of being confirmed in a remarkable way by the evidence of the life of S. Mochuda, of Lismore, which makes mention of a chieftain (*Dux*), no doubt a lord of Kerry, named Maeltuile, living near the mouth of the River Mang, that is to say, somewhere near the head of Castlemaine Bay. This Maeltuile was the patron of Mochuda in his boyhood, and must therefore have been considerably his senior. Now, as Mochuda died A. D. 636, his patron may be supposed to have flourished in the latter half of the sixth century, and therefore may be identified with the Maeltuile, son of Aedhlogha, in the pedigree of O'Connor Kerry. Of this we have yet a further confirmation: for we happen to have preserved to us the pedigree of Mochuda himself. It is given as follows in the *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* ("Leabhar Breac," p. 16, col. 2):—

MOCHUDAI.
m. Fingein.
m. Noei.
m. Cellain.
m. Saigleand.
32. m. Firb (*a quo* h. Firb).
m. Ambrith.
33. m. Imchada.
35. m. Mochon.
34. m. Ebricc.
36. m. Auluim.
37. m. Mesicon.
38. m. Tala.
39. m. Moga Airt (*i. e.* Ciar).
40. m. Oirbsen mair.

From this it appears that Mochuda and the Maeltuile named in the pedigree of O'Connor Kerry were both descendants in the fifth degree from Ferb, who was the head of a *Fine*, the Ui Ferba. They were, therefore, collaterals, and nearly contemporaries.

The numbers prefixed to the names in this pedigree refer to those in the pedigree of O'Connor Kerry, and show that the two substantially agree, though there is some difference in the orthography; and one name, that of

Ambrith, has been either omitted or repeated by mistake. It looks like a various spelling of Ebric.

The names of Aedhloga and Maeltuile appear in another ancient pedigree, that of a Bishop Lugaidh, as given in the *Sanctilogium Genealogicum*, in the "Leabhar Breac," p. 20, col. 4 :—

LUGAID Espoc hi Cuil Benchair.	32. m. Ferba.
m. Lugdach.	33. m. Imchada.
m. Luchta.	34. m. Amrit.
m. Anrudain.	35. m. Mochon.
27. m. Moiltuli.	m. Masaul.
28. m. Aedaloga.	37. m. Mesicon.
29. m. Daurthacht.	m. Echoid.
30. m. Senaigh.	38. m. Masaul.
31. m. Rethi.	39. m. Moga Airt qui et Ciar.

Here, though some errors have been committed in the spelling of the names, in the substitution of m. Masaul for Mac Auluim, and in the introduction of the name of Echod, the pedigree of Aedhloga is the same as that given in p. 34.

A less accurate account of this Bishop Lugaid is given in the "Martyrology of Donegal" (Oct. 6) :—

Lucchaiɗh, mac Luchta, mic Anroɗain, mic Maoiltuile, mic Aiṫcleacha, mic Ferba; acus Meɗb, inġen Garbáin, mic Brocáin, mic Garbáin, mic Duibċertain, ɗo Uib Saithġil ɗo Ciarraiġe Luachra, a ṁáṫáir. Epscop ó Chuil Bennchuir i lurg for bru Locha hEirne, acus o Raith muighe tuaiscirt i Ciarraiġe Luachra, no ó Chúil Bennchuir i nUib Failge, acus ic Tuaim Foḃair i lLuiġne.

"Lughaidh, son of Lucht, son of Anrodhan, son of Maeltuile, son of Aithcleach, son of Ferb; and Medhbh, daughter of Garbhan, son of Brocan, son of Garbhan, son of Dubhchertan, of the Ui-Saithghil of Ciarraighe Luachra, was his mother. He was bishop of Cuil Beannchair, on the brink of Loch Erne, and of Rath Muighetuaiscirt in Ciarraighe Luachra; or of Cuil Beannchair in Ui-Failghe, and of Tuaimfobhair in Luigne."

Though the name of Aedhloga is here spelt Aithcleacha, and three generations are omitted between him and Ferb, there can be no doubt that an attempt is made to give the pedigree of the Lugaid named in the "Leabhar

Breac." He is also mentioned by M'Firbis, in his tract *De quibusdam Episcopis*,* as a bishop residing or having episcopal authority at Rath mór Muighe tuaisgirt, now Rattoo, in the north of Kerry, on the verge of the present boundary of the barony of Iraghticonnor.

Such variations in orthography as have been here noticed show that the ancient Irish scribes were not always careful in copying; or that they wrote phonetically from dictation. In some cases they seem to have indulged in pedantic eccentricities of spelling.

If the Aedhloga named in the pedigrees above quoted had belonged to a remote part of the country, the attempt to identify him with the person whose name appears on the Ogam monument would have been less hopeful. It happens, however, that the monument stood within sight of the territory of which the Maeltuile and Aedhloga of the pedigrees were chieftains, if not actually within its limits. They were lords of Ciarraighe Luachra, a district the position and extent of which are well known. It is thus described in the topographical poem of O'Huidhrin, edited by Dr. O'Donovan:—

Ri Ciarraige ór clannaib Ceir,	"King of Ciarraighe over the plains of Ciar,
O'Concobair cóir doiren,	O'Conchobhair, it is right for him so to be,
Cele cláir an miodfuinn mir,	Chief of the mead-abounding land,
On tráig co Sionainn fruithgil.	From the strand to the fair-streamed Sion-[ainn.
O'Laogain, laoch fa allaid,	"O'Laoghain, hero of renown,
Ar Uib Fearba fuaramar;	Over Ui-Fearba we have found;
O'Caithneandaig fuar an fonn,	O'Caithneannaigh obtained the land
Cruaid fa caithbeannaib Cualann.	Hard under the battlepeaks of Cualann."

The O'Connor mentioned here is the O'Connor Kerry whose pedigree has been given above, including in it Maeltuile, Aedhloga, and Ferb, the chief of Ui-Fearba.

The O'Connor Kerry's country extended, as this poem shows, from Tralee to the River Shannon, comprising about the northern third part of

* See "Proceedings" of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. ix. (1865), p. 184.

the present county of Kerry. The name is still preserved in that of the barony of Iraghticonnor.

O'Donovan failed to identify the territory of Ui-Fearba. The poem intimates that it was near Tralee, as it is named between the country of O'Connor Kerry and that of the Alltraighe, a sept seated round the river of Tralee. But I believe Mr. Hennessy has exactly determined the limits of the Ui-Fearba. (Notes C. and D.)

The results put forward in the preceding Paper may be recapitulated as follows:—

Chronological arguments show, with something like certainty, that the Maeltuile, son of Aedhloga, named in the pedigrees of O'Connor Kerry and Lugaidh, bishop of Rattoo, was identical with the chieftain Maeltuile of whom mention is made in the Life of S. Mochuda. This chieftain, who is called lord of Kerry (*dux regionis Kiarraighe*), lived near the mouth of the River Mang, in the immediate neighbourhood of the place where the Ogam monument was found, bearing the name of Aedhloga. As it is natural to assume that his father lived in the same place, it is most probable that the Aedhloga whose name appears on the Ogam monument is the Aedhloga named in the pedigrees—a chieftain who lived in the sixth century. A more complete demonstration could hardly be expected in a case of this nature.

I also desire to notice that, if I have rightly explained the Ogam name as being equivalent to Aedhloga, I may point to this inscription as justifying the general proposition which I have always maintained, viz., that the Ogam names were not those by which the persons commemorated by the monuments were commonly known. As the character was a secret one, so the names themselves were disguised, sometimes by tricks of spelling, and sometimes by other devices. I can hardly imagine that any philologist will seriously contend that at the time when this monument was inscribed, that is to say, about the middle of the seventh century, the ordinary mode of writing the name Aedhloga was Apilogdo.

There was a time when I should not have appealed with as much con-

fidence as I now feel to the testimony of the ancient pedigrees recorded in our manuscripts; but a careful examination of some of these documents has led me to take a different view of the subject.

In the first place, the pedigrees are extremely ancient. The "Book of Leinster," which contains a great body of them, is itself a manuscript nearly eight hundred years old. But further, we cannot set aside the historical evidence by which it is proved that great pains were taken to perpetuate the knowledge of Irish genealogies. The institutions of the country, respecting the rights of persons and property, rendered it absolutely necessary.

And finally, when we come to compare the pedigrees with one another, and test them by the independent criteria supplied by histories, annals, and monuments, we find them to be, in the main, trustworthy. It is true that transcribers have, in many places, made mistakes in copying them. It may be admitted too that, here and there, they have been falsified; and we may go so far as to reject the very early portions of them, as wholly fictitious. Still, on the whole, I venture to assert that they will be found to be of the utmost value to the historian, when they are subjected to the systematic analysis which they have never yet received.

NOTES ADDED IN THE PRESS.

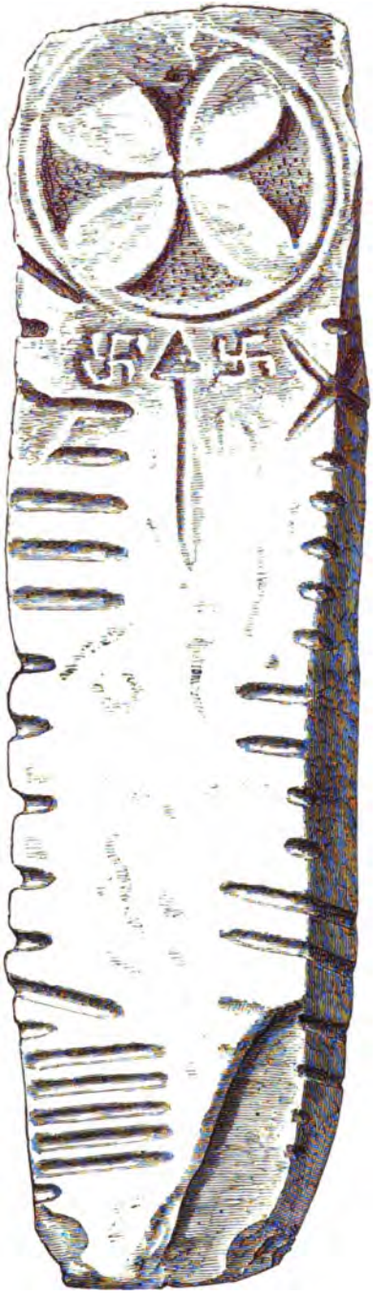
NOTE A.—Another careful examination of the monument, made since this paper was put to press, has confirmed me in the opinion that the inscription is to be read *Apilogdo*, and not *Apiloggo*. It seems to me almost certain that the Ogam-carver originally inscribed a second *g* and then, finding that he had committed an error, endeavoured to efface the portions of the strokes appearing on the face of the stone. But being dissatisfied with this attempted correction he split off the part of the stone exhibiting those strokes. The points at which the strokes representing the letters D and O turn over from the side to the face of the stone are not in the same line with the corresponding points in the rest of the characters along the edge. They are on the parallel edge exposed after the removal of a part of the stone.

It is thus evident that these characters representing D and O were made or finished after the fracture. There is very distinct evidence of the attempt to efface the small portion which remains of the first stroke of the second *g*.

NOTE B.—The reader will, perhaps, be surprised at my making no reference to the name *Abilogus* occurring in Dr. O'Connor's edition of the "Annals of Inisfallen." The omission was intentional. The editor of the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* has, in this instance, unconsciously prepared a pitfall for incautious philologists. He has misread the name. Having examined the Oxford manuscript, I can state that it is *Albilogus*, the latinized form given by O'Connor to Findloga, the father of St. Brendan; Albus being the equivalent of Find. There are few paragraphs in this edition of the Annals of Inisfallen in which some similar error may not be detected.

NOTE C.—The Alltraige, of whom was Findlug, father of St. Brendan the Navigator, was a Kerry tribe, descended, like the other old "Kerry" families, from Ciar, the son of Fergus Mac Roy (1st cent. Christ. Era). In the Irish Life of St. Brendan he is stated to have been born "in the *Fianand*." "The *Fianand*" is the Irish name of Fenit Island, eight miles to the west of Tralee, where the sites of some very old churches are still visible in a field called the "Seven Church field." The tribal land of the Alltraige was, therefore, most probably the district adjacent to and including Fenit, although the writers of some of the Latin lives of the Saint would place it further east, on the *Littus Ly*, by which is meant the estuary of the Tralee river.

NOTE D.—The Ui-Ferba, a Kerry tribe descended from Ferba (generally set down in the Irish pedigrees of the old Kerry families as the 20th in descent from Ciar, a quo *Ciarraigi*, son of Fergus Mac Roy), anciently occupied the district from Tralee to Ardfert. In the Survey of the Desmond Forfeitures (1587, MS. Public Record Office of Ireland), Loghercannon, near Tralee, Listrim, and Ardfert, with other intermediate townlands, are described as included in the Half-cantred of "O'Farboe," or "Farbowe." In O'Huidhrin's Topographical Poem the patronymic of the tribe is stated to be O'Laoghain, which, under the Anglicised forms of Lane and Leen, is pretty common in the district at present. The information contained in this and the preceding note has been kindly communicated to me by William H. Hennessy, M. R. I. A.



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[April, 1879.]

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THE

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III.—*On the Croix Gammée, or Swastika.* By the Right Rev. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D., M. R. I. A., Lord Bishop of Limerick.

[Read May 13, 1878.]

I AM not aware that antiquaries have observed the existence upon any Irish monument of the *Croix Gammée* or *Swastika.* I trust, therefore, that the following notice of monuments exhibiting this remarkable symbol may not be thought undeserving of the attention of members of the Royal Irish Academy. Two of the monuments here described were found by me in the year 1870, in a killeen near the head of Cloonlough, in Glencar, Co. Kerry.* The *swastika* is also inscribed on two monuments bearing Ogam inscriptions. One of them, preserved in the lapidary collection of the Royal Irish Academy, has already been described by me.† The other was found by the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock, when employed by me in searching for Ogams on one of the Blasket Islands. All these monuments belong undoubtedly to the Christian period. I have seen no instance of the appearance of the *swastika* on pagan monuments in Ireland.

With respect to the use of the *swastika* as a Christian emblem, a controversy was raised some years ago by M. Burnouf, who asserted that it was the most ancient form of the cross; that it was found in the earliest catacombs; and that, having been previously unknown in Egypt, Greece, and Italy, this symbol was borrowed by the early Christians from the sacred books of the Persians; that it was, in fact, the *swastika*, the *signum salutis* which the Buddhist priests used to mark on the forehead of their neophytes.

* Ordnance Survey of Kerry, Sheet 82.

† *Transactions*, vol. xxvii. p. 31.

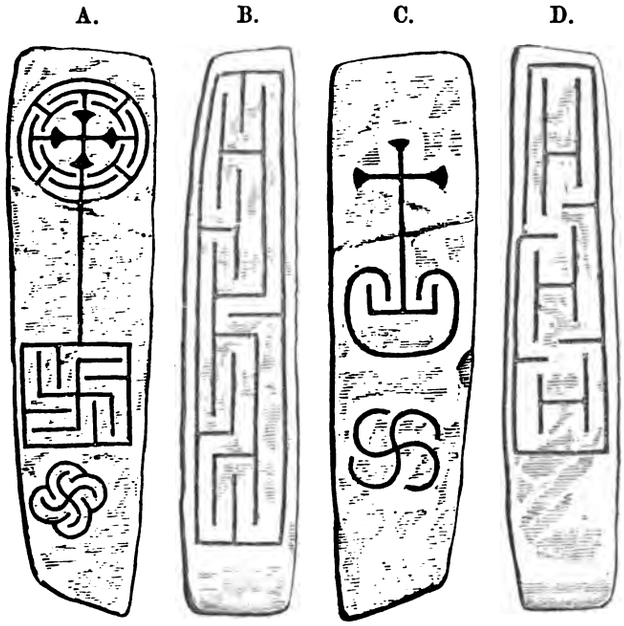
These assertions of M. Burnouf have been refuted by De Rossi, who has conclusively proved that the *Croix Gammée* was not one of the most ancient forms of the cross. It does not appear even once in the earliest inscriptions; but in the cemeteries where they are found it shows itself at the end of the third century, and holds its place on the monuments of the fourth.

Far from being peculiar to Indians and Persians, the *Croix Gammée* has been recognised as a symbol in use amongst various other nations. Dr. Schliemann has found it on fragments of pottery at great depths below the surface, at Hissarlik and at Mycenæ. It appears on coins of Palestine, Greece, and Sicily, and on gold Scandinavian bracteates. De Rossi points also to a Roman pagan monument, representing an *ignispicium*, on which this *Croix Gammée* appears. The truth is that the early Christians, finding this symbol in common use, employed it as a disguised cross in times of persecution, when, with their profound reverence for the sign of the cross, they were obliged to combine a certain prudence, which restrained them from exposing the emblem of their faith freely to the view of pagans, who made it the object of reproach and ridicule. De Rossi does not hesitate to declare that only one exception is known to the general statement that the simple undisguised cross does not appear on monuments before the time of Constantine.

On the face of the first of these monuments (fig. 1, A) is exhibited an Irish cross, surrounded by a circular nimbus, of an elegant design, and connected with it by a straight line in continuation of the vertical member of the cross is a *swastika*, inscribed in a square. Right lines perpendicular to the sides of the square point into the quadrants of the *swastika*. Underneath is a figure derived from the one last mentioned by substituting curved for straight lines. On the back (fig. 1, C) is a Latin cross, rising out of a figure respecting which I cannot venture to determine what it is intended to represent, or what is its symbolical meaning. It may perhaps have been meant to denote a ship, the symbol of the Christian Church, as a mast and yard were by primitive Christians regarded as a symbol of the cross. Under this symbol is a curvilinear *swastika*. On one of the sides of this monument is an ingeniously constructed rectangular pattern, laby-

rinthine in its character (fig. 1, B); that is to say, from any point within it a path may be traced through the whole, leading back to the point from

FIGURE 1.



STONE FROM GLENCAR, COUNTY OF KERRY.

[Scale 1½ inches to a foot.]

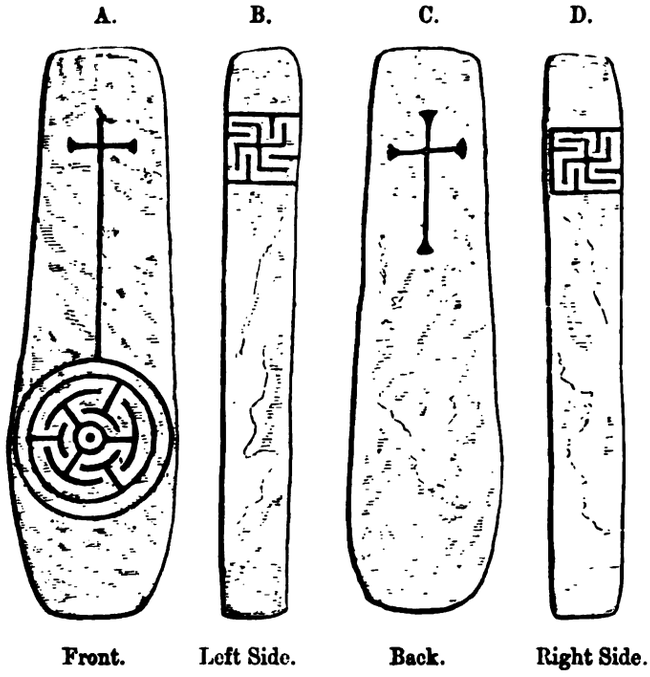
which one started. On the remaining side is a less elaborate rectangular pattern (fig. 1, D), constructed with three H's and four short horizontal lines, apparently similar in purpose to those introduced in the *swastika*, as it appears in fig. 1, A.

On the face of the second monument (fig. 2, A) is a Latin cross with a pendant ornament elegantly designed, and remarkable in this respect, that the pattern is not cruciform, as in fig. 1, A, the circle being divided not into four, but into three parts.

On the back of this monument is a plain Latin cross (fig. 2, C), and on its sides (figs. 2, B, and 2, D) are *swastikas* similar to those figured in fig. 1, A.

That these Glencar monuments are very ancient is proved by the fact, that whilst the ornamental crosses inscribed upon them manifest considerable taste, the stones themselves show no signs of having been squared or

FIGURE 2.



STONE FROM GLENCAR, COUNTY OF KERRY.

[Scale 1½ inches to a foot.]

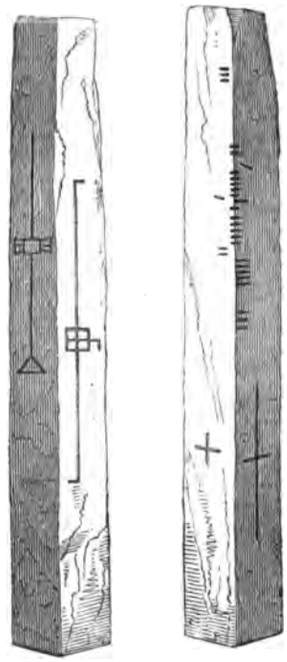
hammered. This is the case with most, if not all, of the monuments bearing Ogam inscriptions. But these latter differ from the uninscribed and undoubtedly pagan monuments, in being generally much less massive.

I have already described and figured in these *Transactions* an Ogam monument exhibiting two *swastikas*. The annexed figure (fig. 3) represents another Ogam monument, found in Inisvicillane, one of the Blasket Islands, off the south-west coast of Kerry. Each of its sides exhibits a cross. One of

* *Transactions*, vol. xxvii. p. 31, Plate I.

these crosses is a *swastika* slightly modified, the vertical members being prolonged, and a square placed at the centre of the cross. Of the other three crosses, it is to be noticed that one is a plain Greek cross; and that, in the two remaining ones, the upper and lower vertical members are of equal lengths. The Ogam inscription is so much weather-worn that I cannot pretend to offer a reading of it with much confidence. I suspect that it presented the name of Maelchedar, a saint who belonged to the race of

FIGURE 3.



OGAM STONE, INISVICILLANE (BLASKET ISLANDS).

Fergus, and whose name is perpetuated to this day as the patron of Kilmalchedar, on the shore of Smerwick harbour, a very few miles from the spot where the Ogam monument was discovered.

The occurrence of this peculiar form of cross on Irish monuments deserves attention. It has, on the one hand, some bearing on the inquiry as to the introduction and diffusion of Christianity in Ireland, inasmuch as we

know the period within which the *Croix Gammée* was in use in Rome. Its use in Ireland would doubtless have begun somewhat later; and as so few instances have been found of its occurrence, it seems probable that it did not prevail for any length of time. Thus, if its date was tolerably well established, it might be useful in determining approximately the age of monuments or manuscripts. And again, as it has been found in connexion with an inscription in the Ogam character, the date of which has been assigned to the commencement of the seventh century, we possess one indication as to the period during which it was employed in Ireland.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

To the recorded instances of the use of this symbol as a Christian emblem I am able to add one that has recently come under my notice. On the road from Sétif to Râs el Ouad in Algeria, among the ruins of what appears to have been a Christian Basilica, are the capital of two columns on which *swastikas* are inscribed. The architectural details of the building indicate that it was erected about the end of the fourth century.

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[Read, June 28, 1880.]

In the lettering at the head of each of these Plates,
for Vol. XXV. *read* Vol. XXVII.

action of the camera with both faces of the work substantially [illegible] plane, and in whatever light may be found most effective to bring out all its impressions in one image.

IV. A large number of such casts has been procured, and photographs have been taken of, amongst others, those from the inscriptions in the Lapidary Museum of the Academy. The prints now presented are autotypes of photographs from those casts. It has been considered advisable to begin with this collection, as being easily accessible and admitting of deliberate examination and comparison with the prints; so that the accuracy of the process may be fully tested, and confidence

TRANSACTIONS, VOL. XXVI. (SCIENCE).

(Already Published.)

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1.—On the Binary Stars 44 Boötis, η Cassiopeiæ, and μ Draconis. By W. Doberck, Ph.D., Member of the International Astronomical Society, Astronomer at Markree Observatory. *With Addenda to Previous Memoirs*,	0	1	0
2.—On the Intertubular Tissue of the Mammalian Testis. By Reuben J. Harvey, M.D. (With Plate I.),	0	1	0
3.—Report on the Chemical, Mineralogical, and Microscopical Characters of the Lavas of Vesuvius from 1631 to 1868. By Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Geology in the University of Dublin; and Edward Hull, M.A., F.R.S., Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland. (With Plate II.),	0	4	6
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7.—The Red Stars: Observations and Catalogue. By J. Birmingham,			
8.—On a New Species of Parasitic Green Alga belonging to the [illegible] By Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., [illegible] versity of Dubl[illegible]			
[illegible] anthological [illegible], B.A.; Senior Moderator in [illegible] (With Plates IX., X., XI.),	0	1	0
[illegible] or Griffithsia setacea (*Ellis*), and on the development of its Anthe- [illegible] and Tetraspores. By Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.C.S.I.; Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin. (With Plates XII. and XIII.),			
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Title-page and Table of Contents to Volume XXVI.

IV.—*Fasciculus of Prints from Photographs of Casts of Ogham Inscriptions.* By Sir Samuel Ferguson, LL.D. [With Plates I.* to V.]

[Read, June 28, 1880.]

I. The first fasciculus of Ogham texts, in printed photographic reproductions of casts from the originals, is here presented to the Academy.

II. In inscriptions of this kind, where the characters extend, as they almost always do, to two conterminous surfaces of a solid, both cannot be adequately embraced in one direct photographic image. If attempted separately, the heavy masses of stone, on which the inscriptions are generally found, should be shifted and brought into lights falling at similar angles across the indentations on their several faces, which, in most cases, would be practically impossible; and, where legends occupy several angles, and, as often happens, the top also of the monument, four or six, or even more, separate images should be taken, and put together, to get the entire text.

III. The paper cast, besides its capacity for absolute accuracy in the reproduction of the moulded surface, obviates these inconveniences. It is sufficiently pliable to bear being flattened, and so presented to the action of the camera with both faces of the work substantially in one plane, and in whatever light may be found most effective to bring out all its impressions in one image.

IV. A large number of such casts has been procured, and photographs have been taken of, amongst others, those from the inscriptions in the Lapidary Museum of the Academy. The prints now presented are autotypes of photographs from those casts. It has been considered advisable to begin with this collection, as being easily accessible and admitting of deliberate examination and comparison with the prints; so that the accuracy of the process may be fully tested, and confidence

secured for such further reproductions of Ogham writing, in print from cast-photographs, as the Academy may hereafter think proper to publish.

V. It has also been considered advisable to confine the descriptive text accompanying these prints to matter which shall as much as possible exclude everything speculative. An indication is given of the place where each original object has been found, with a reproduction, in conventional Ogham printing, of its legend so far as now capable of being decyphered with reasonable certainty. Such portions of the original as are obscure or restored are printed in dotted lines. To each is added a transliteration, according to the ordinary key to Ogham writing, in Roman type, minuscular letters being used to indicate doubtful and alternative equivalents.

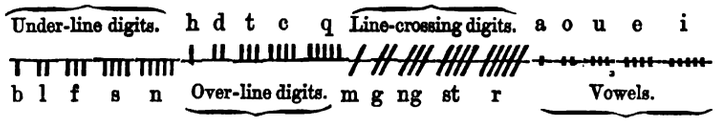
VI. A paradigm of the ordinary Ogham key is subjoined. It has been found in agreement with most of the examples of biliteral texts in this country and in Great Britain, and appears to be applicable to most, if not to all, of the legends comprised in this fasciculus. It will be seen that the phonetic value of the characters depends on their position—under, over, across, or on, the arris or edge of the stone.

VII. From the nature of these arrangements, it results that whether a character is to be considered under or over the arris-line will depend on the position from which the observer regards it. So that, *prima facie*, (*a*) a double set of values may be given to the consonants, according as the spectator regards them from the one or the other side of the line of arris; and (*b*) that a double order of reading may be adopted according as the sequence of the characters is taken from left to right, or *vice versa*. Consequently, (*c*) every legend of this kind is capable of four several sets of values for its consonants: but observation has shown that the course of reading usually intended is from left to right, upwards, from that side of the inscribed surface to the left hand of the observer standing in front, although this rule occasionally has exceptions. (*d*) Where the inscription is carried round the head of the stone, and down the opposite side, it usually preserves the same tenor in reading as if the whole were extended in one continuous line: but this rule also is sometimes departed from. (*e*) The vowels, represented in the conventional key as notches on the arris, are also, in some cases, indicated by stem-crossing groups, distin-

guished only by their degree of obliquity from stem-crossing consonants of the same number of digits, and, in such cases, *a*, *b*, and *c* (*supra*), apply to all the characters. (*f*) The conventional value of the X cross in the common key is the diphthong *ea*; but there appear sufficient grounds for considering it, in many combinations, as the representative of P, which, it will be noticed, has no equivalent among the regular groups of characters. (*g*) Two of the stem-crossing groups of digits stand for *ng* and *st* respectively; and, in reference to at least the latter, there seem grounds for giving it the force of *s* in combination with any other of its assimilable consonants.

VIII. This common key lends itself readily to the formation of cypher alphabets, of which numerous examples are found in published books and in manuscripts. These, however, are so obviously trifling and fanciful, that it has not been thought desirable to present any of them here, though possibly some still undecyphered Ogham legends may be grounded on cryptic devices of that kind.

Paradigm of the Ogham Characters, with their Equivalents in Roman Letters.



Besides these four catagories of five sets of characters each, there are other characters alleged to represent diphthongs. Of these it is only necessary here, in addition to ᚸ, supposed to stand for *ea* (*supra*, VII. *f*), to specify ᚹ, for *oi*, and ᚻ for *ui*, all which combinations there seem some grounds for regarding as capable of being varied in the second vowel.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.*—Fig. 1.

From townland of Lougher, parish of Ballinvoher, county of Kerry. Ord. Map, Sheet 45. Had previously formed lintel over entrance to a Rath-cave on adjoining townland of Rathmalode.

PLATE I.*—Fig. 2.

Of unknown locality.

PLATE I.*—Fig. 3.

Left angle illegible.

Right angle. [3a.]

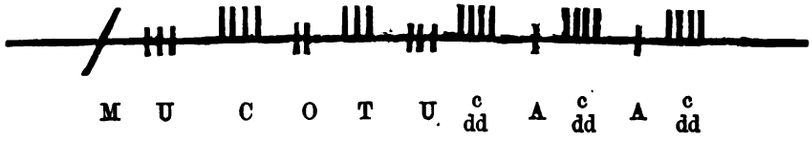
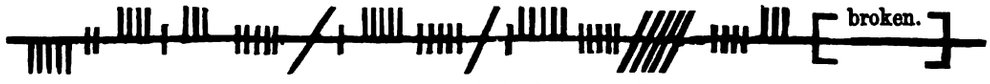


PLATE I.*—Fig. 4.

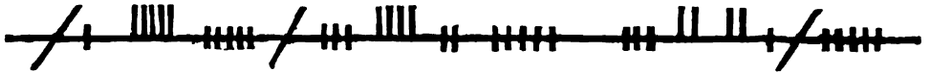
From townland of Whitefield, parish of Knockane, county of Kerry. Ord. Map, Sheet 65. Forms part of collection presented to the Academy by The Macgillicuddy.

Left angle:



N O C A T I M A Q I M A Q I R E t . . . .

Right angle:



M A Q I M U C O I U D D A M I

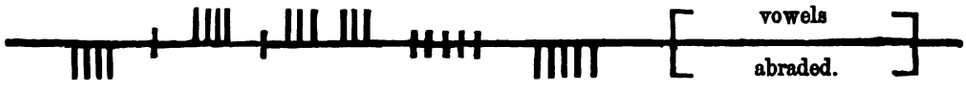
PLATE I.*—Fig 5.

From Martramane, parish of Killiney, county of Kerry. Ord. Map, Sheet 36. Formed lintel over fireplace of a dwelling: said to have been brought thither from one of the Magharee islands:

Q e/u N I L O C G N I M A Q I D [ ]

PLATE II.—Fig. 1.

From a Rath-cave in townland of Ballyhank, parish of Kilnaglory, county of Cork. Ord. Map, Sheet 85. Formerly in possession of John Windele, Esq., Blair's Castle, Cork:



S A C A T T I N i

PLATE II.—Fig. 2.

From same (Windele) collection:

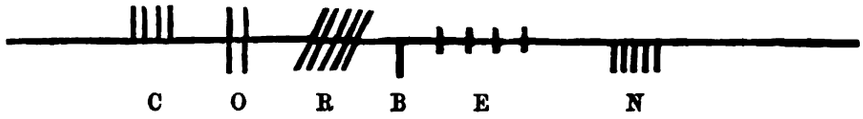


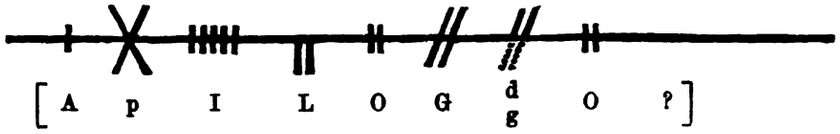
PLATE II.—Fig. 3.

From same collection:

PLATE II.—Fig. 4.

From churchyard of Aglish, parish of Minard, county of Kerry. Ord. Map, Sheet 54.

Left angle:



Right angle:

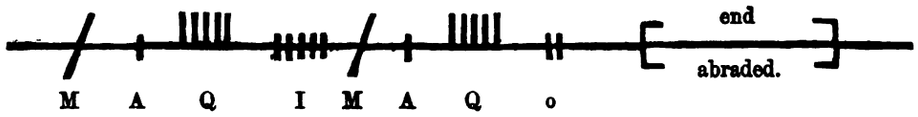


PLATE II.—Fig. 5.

From a stone-hut, or cloghan, within a rath in the townland of Gortnagullenagh, parish of Minard, county of Kerry. Ord. Map, Sheet 44.

Left angle:

M A Q Q I D E C E D D A

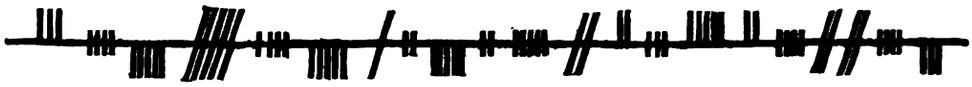
Right angle:

M A Q Q I C A T U F u/i q

PLATE III.—Fig. 1.

From a cave in the townland of Monataggart, parish of Donoughmore, county of Cork. Ord. Map, Sheet 61.

Read direct:



T E N R E N M O N O I G D U Q D E G G E F

Read inversely, from opposite side of arris, and right to left:

F E Q R E Q M O Q O I G L U N L E G G E T

PLATE III.—Fig. 2.

From same place:

D A L A G N I M A Q I D A L I

PLATE III.—Fig. 3.

From same place:

B R O E N I E N A S p O I N E T A T T R E N A L U G O S

PLATE IV.—Fig. 1.

From Tinnahally, parish of Kilorglin, county of Kerry. Ord. Map, Sheet 57.

Fig. 1.—Left angle:

A N C M F a o u R U D D R A N N

Top obscure, [Fig. 1 a.]

Fig. 1 b.—Right angle:

L I G i i N N

PLATE IV.—Fig. 2.

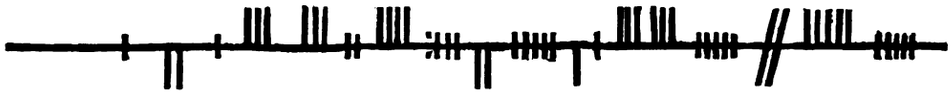
From Ballyhank. *Supra*, p. 51.

Left angle and top:

a n M O Q I F O R R T I G U r N

PLATE IV.—Fig. 3.

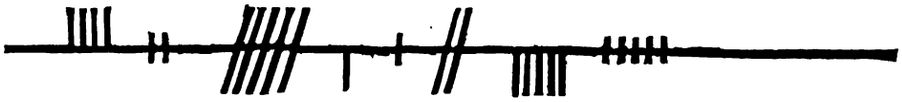
From Whitefield. *Supra*, p. 51.



A L A T T O C e/u L I B A T T I G q/n I

PLATE V.—Fig. 1.

From Ballyhank. *Supra*, p. 51.



C O R B A G N I

PLATE V.—Fig. 2.

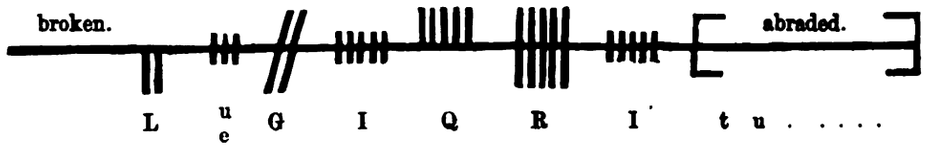
From Ballyhank. *Supra*, p. 51.

c o R B I N I

PLATE V.—Fig. 3.

From six feet beneath surface of bog, townland of Ballyneanig, parish of Marhin, county of Kerry. Ord. Map, Sheet 42.

Left angle:



Right angle:

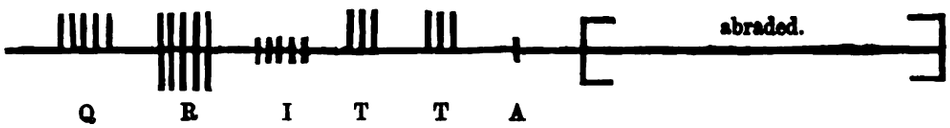


PLATE V.—Fig. 4.

From nave of church of Ardmore, county of Waterford. Ord. Map, Sheet 40.

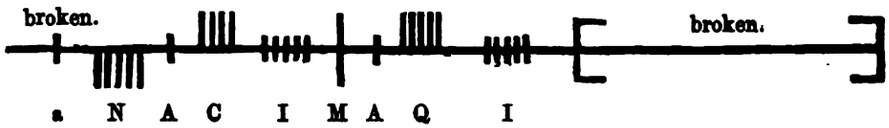
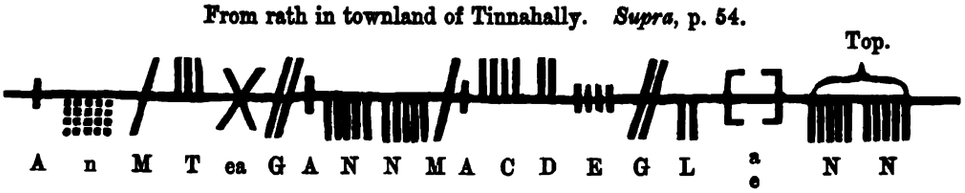


PLATE V.—Fig. 5.

From rath in townland of Tinnahally. *Supra*, p. 54.



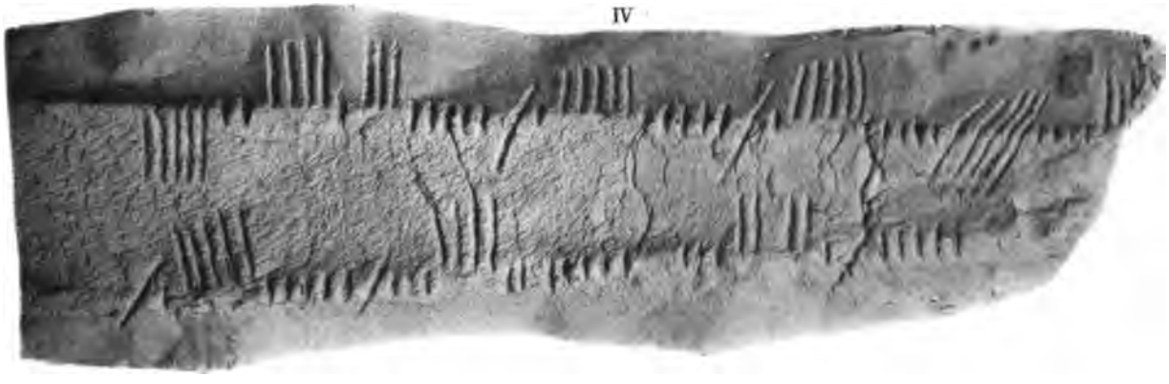
I

II

III

III a

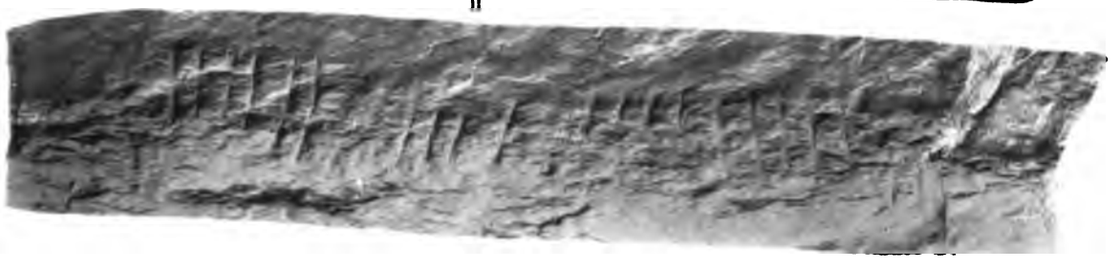
IV



V

I

II



III

IV

V

I

II

III

I

Ib

Ia

II

III

I

II

III

IV

V

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[NOVEMBER, 1882.]

OCT 29 1883

THE

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OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

VOLUME XXVII.

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18.—On the Cell-structure of Griffithsia setacea (*Ellis*), and on the development of its Antheridia and Tetraspores. By Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.C.S.I.; Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin. (With Plates XII. and XIII.),	0	2	6
19.—On the Formation of the so-called "Siphons," and on the Development of the Tetraspores in Polysiphonia. By Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.C.S.I.; Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin. (With Plate XIV.),			
20.—On the Equations of Circles (Second Memoir). By John Casey, LL.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Professor of Mathematics in the Catholic University of Ireland,	0	3	6
21.—On the Correlation of Lines of Direction on the Earth's Surface. By Joseph P. O'Reilly, C.E., Professor of Mining and Mineralogy, Royal College of Science, Ireland,	0	1	0
22.—Explanatory Notes and Discussion of the Nature of the Prismatic Forms of a Group of Columnar Basalts, Giant's Causeway. By Joseph P. O'Reilly, C.E. Central School of Paris; Professor of Mining and Mineralogy, Royal College of Science, Ireland. (With Plates XV. to XVIII.),	0	4	10

Title-page and Table of Contents to Volume XXVI.

V.—*On Sepulchral Cellæ.* By Sir Samuel Ferguson, LL.D.

[Read, June 28, 1880.]

Why the word *Killeen*, diminutive of *Kill*, a church, and meaning literally "a little church" or "chapel," should signify, as it does throughout the south and west of Ireland, a peculiar kind of "burying-place," is a question which has not, so far as I know, received an adequate examination, much less a satisfactory answer. But no traveller in south and west Munster can fail to have been struck by the cell-like forms of the burial-vaults still in use in particular churchyards. I would instance Kilmurry Ibrickane, in Clare, and Killully and Castleisland, in Kerry. The most usual form (Fig. 1) is that of a gabled, stone-roofed cell, eight or ten feet long, by five or six feet wide, and four or five feet high to the slope of the roof, with an aperture or door closed by a removable flagstone in one end. A frequent variety (Fig. 2) of this form of vault is produced by truncating or levelling off the ridge of the roof from end to end; and a third variety (Fig. 3), by raising on the platform so produced a broad barge-course or crest of masonry, giving to the whole an appearance somewhat resembling an aisled church with unpierced clerstories. These graveyards, at a little distance, resemble large stone-roofed villages, and it is only on closer approach that their small dimensions show them to be houses of the

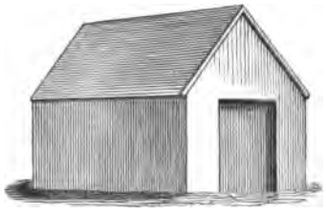


Fig. 1.

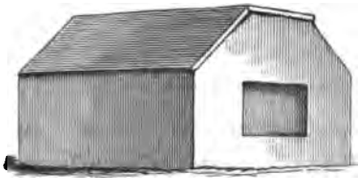


Fig. 2.

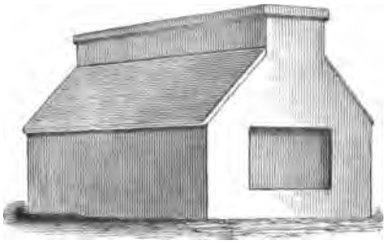


Fig. 3.

dead. At Kilmurry they are constructed of the great flagstones of the district, each face, as well of roof as of wall, being sometimes formed of a single stone.

We see a similar little church- or chapel-like edifice employed as a conventional form of sepulchre in the fresco paintings which represent the raising of Lazarus in the Roman Catacombs, and in the sculptures of the same subject on early Christian sarcophagi. In these representations Lazarus is shown issuing from the portal of his sepulchre in his grave-wrappings, which are like those of a mummy. The edifice is sometimes the plain-roofed simple cell, sometimes a porticoed cell or little temple, and sometimes a domed church or basilica in the Byzantine style.

On the remarkable sarcophagus at St. John's in the Valley, in Verona, both kinds of *ædiculæ* are introduced, one at each side of the composition, with a symbolic figure issuing from the portal of each, intended, probably, as type and antitype of the Christian belief in the Resurrection.

In the Mithraic monuments also, seemingly symbolizing that tenet of theirs which the ancient Christian Fathers reproach them with having borrowed from the same doctrine, the figure of a creature issuing from such a little temple, through such a portal, also occurs. Figures of these Mithraic *cellæ* from Sarmiz, the old capital of Roman Dacia, and from another locality in Hungary, may be seen in *Mem. Acad. des Inscrip.*, vol. XIV. These miniature cells and basilicas, so employed in this kind of figurative sepulchral representation, receive a curious illustration from a source which, at first sight, might appear little likely to elucidate early Christian antiquity. This source is found among the *leges barbarorum*, in the Salic Law. Dr. Hessells has just edited the texts of the ten MSS. codices of this code in parallel columns, with their several glosses, accompanied by a learned philological dissertation by Professor Kern. The passages to be cited do not occur in the older codices, and may be of a date subsequent to the introduction of Christianity. I take them from Codex 10 and from the *Lex Emendata*, from the section of the code which may be called the Law of Graves. In Codex 10, title LVIII., s. 3, it is provided, "that if anyone pillage a tomb over a dead person he shall be fined," &c., followed by this provision, in s. 4: "If anyone steal the con-

tents of a *cheristaduna* over a dead person, or shall throw down a *mandoado* or *selave*, which is a *porticulus*, over a dead person, he shall be fined," &c. [si quis tombam super mortuum hominem expilaverat, &c. Si quis *cheristaduna* super hominem mortuum capulaverit, aut *mandoada* aut *selave* quod est *porticulus* super hominem mortuum dejecerit, &c.]; and in the *Lex Emendata*, tit. LVII., s. 2, 3: "If anyone pillage or scatter the tumulus raised above a dead person," &c., followed by s. 4: "If anyone shall abstract the contents of an *aristato*, that is of a *stappulus* placed over a dead person, or of a *manduol*, which is a structure or *selave*, that is, a *porticulus*, as of old custom was wont to be made" [in such situations], &c. [si quis tumulum expilaverit vel dissipaverit, &c. Si quis *aristatonem* hoc est *stappulus* super mortuum missus capulaverit, aut *manduolem* quod est structura sive *selave* qui est *ponticulus* sic ut mos antiquum faciendum fuit, &c.].

Here it will be seen that the structure erected over the grave is designated by several synonyms, the spellings of which differ in the several texts, rendered, in the one, *porticulus*, as if it were the practice to place little door-wayed edifices over the graves; and in the other by *ponticulus*, as if the tumulus were surmounted by a little bridge. That the former is the right reading will, I think, appear probable from the further passages I am about to cite. Codex 10, tit. LXXVI., s. 5, provides, that "if anyone pillage a *basilica* over a dead person" he shall pay a fine; and the *Lex Emendata*, in its corresponding *titulus*, that "if anyone shall pillage the house made in the form of a *basilica* over a dead person," &c. [si quis basilicam super hominem mortuum expilaverit, &c. Si quis domum in modum basilicæ factum super hominem mortuum expilaverit, &c.]. Here it is sufficiently plain that besides the grave itself, *tomba* and *tumulus*, regard is also had to certain structures placed upon it: just as in our own laws of Henry I. of England, c. 83, it is enacted, that "if anyone shall presume to exhume or spoliate a body placed in the earth, or in a coffin or sarcophagus, under a *pyramis* or any other structure" [si quis corpus in terra vel noffo vel petra sub pyramide vel structura qualibet positum, &c.]. Seeing then the little *basilica* sepulchre associated with the little temple or *porticulus* sepulchre in early Christian art at Rome, we can hardly doubt that it is the same kind of *porticulus* which we find here rightly associated with the sepulchral *basilica*

in these laws of the Franks, or that it really was the traditionary practice of the populations living under the Salic code to erect little mortuary chapels in these forms over the graves of their dead.

The practice, in fact, continued in the south of France down to the 14th century. In the MS. *Acta* of the Chapter of Lyons there is an entry, in anno 1340, recording that, "whereas differences had arisen regarding the wooden *capellæ* which were used for the purpose of putting over the bodies of deceased dignitaries—super capellis fusteis quæ sunt ad ponendum supra corpora personarum—it is ordained that the master of the works shall have two *capellæ* made—one, of a large size, for persons of high ecclesiastical ranks, and another, of smaller dimensions, for canons" (Du Cange, *ad verb.*, No. 8). Here it will readily be agreed that the *capella major* represents the *basilica*, and the *capella minor* the *porticulus* of the Salic law, as I would imagine it to be now equally clear that these latter reflect the porticoed cell and the domed church of the early Christian symbolic representations respectively.

But the custom of using tabernacles of this shape for the relics of the dead reaches back in France to much earlier times, when less perishable materials were in use; and here we come on some tangible objects curiously adapted for comparison both with the conventional *cellula* of Lazarus and with our own sepulchral and ecclesiastical remains. The field of inquiry among the underground and sculptured Christian works of Roman art is so wide, that I have to express myself with reserve as regards the novelty or otherwise of seeking illustrations of them from the sources which I have last been explaining; but I believe I may safely claim for the objects I am now about to describe a new use—possibly a new utility—in further elucidation both of our legal and of our symbolic subject matter.

When at Nancy in 1846, in a tour of the Vosges country, which I made as nearly as I could in the footsteps of Columbanus, and which rewarded me with the knowledge of the existence of the remarkable tower of the church of St. Maurice at Epinal, I found among the stone objects of the *Musée de Lorraine* a collection of coped and gabled miniature sepulchral monuments of the Roman period when cremation and the dedicatory formula D. M. were still in use. With them were numerous sepulchral *stelæ*, bear-

ing sculptured figures of men and women in a barbaric Roman costume, from a locality called *Souloss;* and from that association—for at present I have no other authority—I assume them to come from the same place. They range from a simple cope, sloped from the base, to the high-pitched gabled cell, and are all provided with apertures at one end, presenting the appearance of low-arched doors connected with cavities scooped out of the bases for the reception of the burnt deposits. These little receptacles, with their narrow adits, seem to explain the use of the word *capulaverit* in the law—'*capulo,*' meaning to take out with some scooping instrument such as a spoon or ladle. Their dimensions are from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, by 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The coped forms alone attracted my attention at that time, and that chiefly for their sculptured medallions of the deceased, and for their inscriptions: D. TASCILIA. M.; D. M. MONAMINSI

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

ORFESCITATVS MARITVS; and D. OXTIAIÆ. M.; and of these I then made drawings. Afterwards, when I had seen the vaulted graveyards of north and west Munster, on revisiting Nancy in 1878, I added drawings of some

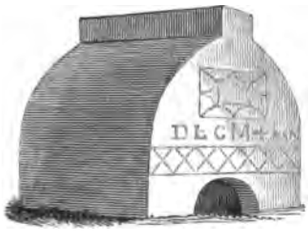


Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

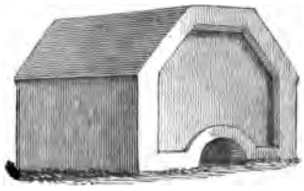


Fig. 8.

others, and now present five examples (Figs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), which, it will be seen, represent, in miniature, with extraordinary closeness of resemblance,

several varieties both of the characteristic Irish sepulchral cell first described, and of the early Irish stone church and oratory.

That we have in these objects actual examples of the older forms of the *porticulus* and *basilica* of the Frankish law will, I think, hardly be doubted. But they obviously belong to a period anterior to the Frankish establishment in Gaul, and suggest, very forcibly, that those parts of the Salic code providing for the preservation of mortuary monuments, under the various names above mentioned, have not regard so much to Germanic customs brought by the Franks from the right bank of the Rhine as to Gaulish ones found by the Franks, and taken under the protection of the conquering authority, on the left bank of that river. If that were so, the meanings of the names by which these laws describe the several objects of their enactment should be sought for in the old language of the Province rather than in that of north Germany. From the number of terms employed, it is plain there were several varieties of monument comprehended under the generic name *selave* (*salive*, *sillabe*, and *silave*), which is itself Latinized in the text, *porticulus*.

These particular examples are in stone; but it has been seen that the more modern ones were of wood; and it may be inferred that those mentioned in the Salic law were also sometimes of that material, from another enactment (tit. LXXI., *cit.* Du Cange, *Basilica*), imposing a fine for setting fire to a *basilica* over a dead body.

Save for the arched forms of their door-apertures (*ponticuli* ?), these Lorraine cells recall vividly the characteristic outline of the old Irish oratory, whether built in dry stone or of cemented masonry; and I would specially refer to the dry stone oratory of Gallerus in Kerry (Fig. 9), which at one time was crested with a barge-course identical in design with that of the Gallo-Roman example (Fig. 6).

If we ask whence in Europe had these stone and wood imitations of little churches their origin, we find the most obvious answer in the *cellæ* or minor temples of the ancients; and, amongst them, that of Æsculapius in the palace of Dioclesian at Spalatro appears, from its structure and dimensions, the likeliest remaining type. Apart from its pillared portico, the ground-plan presents the stone-roofed oblong chamber (23 feet by 16½ internally),

with its side-walls continued as projecting *antæ* beyond the plane of the gable, just as we see in the recessed ends of some of these Lorraine monu-

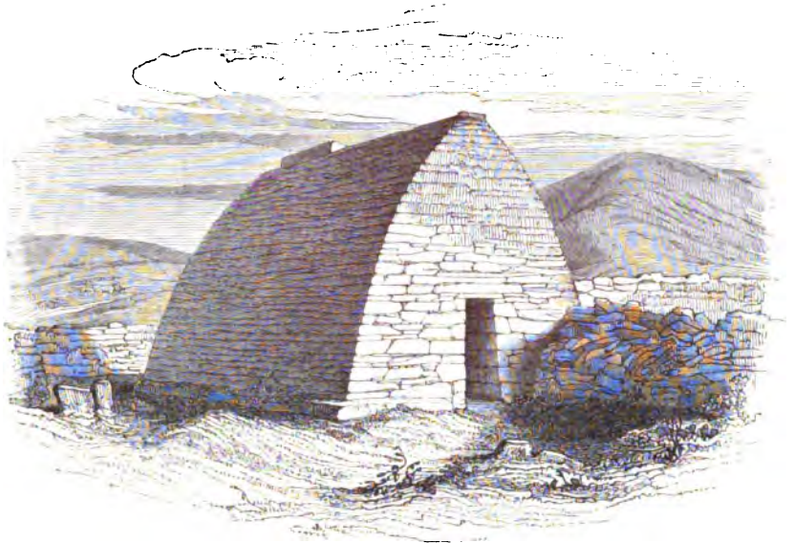


Fig 9.

ments, and in so many of our own stone-built *leabas* and oratories in this country, such as, amongst others, the little church of Inis Mac Dara (Fig. 10).

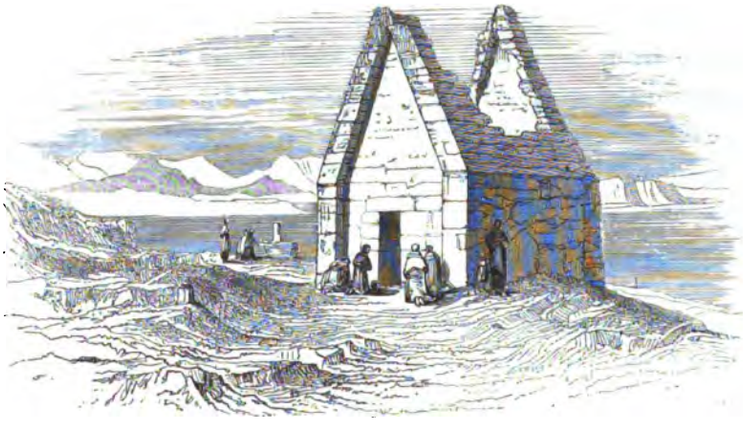


Fig. 10.

It will be observed, however, that both in the Catacombs and on the sarcophagi, Lazarus's cell is generally shown as surmounting a stepped

platform; and there can be no doubt that, if we were to seek Eastern monumental analogies, the structure commonly regarded as the tomb of Cyrus at Moorghaab in Persia (Morier, *Travels in Persia*, 1812, vol. i., p. 145) offers a singularly close resemblance in design and purpose, being in effect a *cella* of the most elementary form standing on a seven-stepped elevation.

The name *cella*, passing from the shrine over the sepulchre to the place of sepulchre itself, might thus account for its Celtic equivalent *kill*, especially in its diminutive form *killeen*, coming to signify, as it apparently does, both a church and a cemetery. This suggestion of a transfer of the name of the sepulchral apparatus to the place of sepulture is not made without the warrant of something analogous in the cognate case of *feretrum*, a bier. Isidore of Seville, writing in the sixth century, and grounding himself on the authority of Servius, renders *feretrum*, "locus ubi mortui feruntur" (*Orig.*, l. 20, c. xi.); and it may not be irrelevant, as a subject for the consideration of Irish scholars accustomed to the word *feart* for a grave, to add, that *feretrum* is found in the form *fierte* among mediæval Gallican writers (Du Cange, *ad verb.*).

Save in Ireland, and in the Irish-influenced parts of Great Britain, the Roman *cella* does not anywhere appear to have passed into the vernacular name for a Christian church. The fact imparts a curious interest to the word *kill*, as the common designation of so many of our parochial churches here, showing from what humble—possibly from what remote—beginnings our Christian worship in Ireland has proceeded. But *killeen*, "the little church," as applied to burying-grounds, is, I believe, exclusively confined to this country, and in it, almost exclusively to the southern and western parts of the island. These singular spots occur in great numbers—more than 2000 have been enumerated—under the names *kill*, *keal*, *killeen*, *cealuragh*, and "children's burying-place." They are regarded by the peasantry with a high degree of awe and veneration, and are deemed sufficiently sacred for the burial of unbaptized infants, but not for the reception of adult Christian remains: and this has been their peculiar reputation from time immemorial. They abound, above all other localities, in ogham-inscribed monuments. The possibilities of their past history fall necessarily under the head either of Pagan, mixed Pagan and Christian, or wholly Christian use. The first view is advocated

in a very interesting chapter of Mr. Brash's posthumous volume on Ogham-Inscribed Monuments, lately edited by Mr. Atkinson of the Department of Science and Art. It involves the acceptance of a date for our Ogham writing, to which my own assent and that, I believe, of other students of this curious branch of our antiquities, has not been given. But no one will deny the possibility of Pagan places of sepulture having been for a time used for Christian burial, and this view would be in accordance with the Christian symbol so often found on Ogham monuments. But, if this be so, the name of these places will look to the sepulchral *cella* of the earlier period; and we shall have to reconcile the non-appearance of any remains of mortuary erections in them with a name which seems to assume their former existence there, by the reflection, that after the lapse of so many ages such appendages, probably small and of perishable material, could hardly now be expected to be found. But there has been found, in at least one of them, that of Killeen Cormac in Kildare, an arrangement of grooved stone pillars at the entrance to a sepulchral cist fitted for the reception of a double door, which may have some relevancy to the Frankish idea of the *porticulus;* and so, also, may that old traditionary rhyme preserved by Keating—

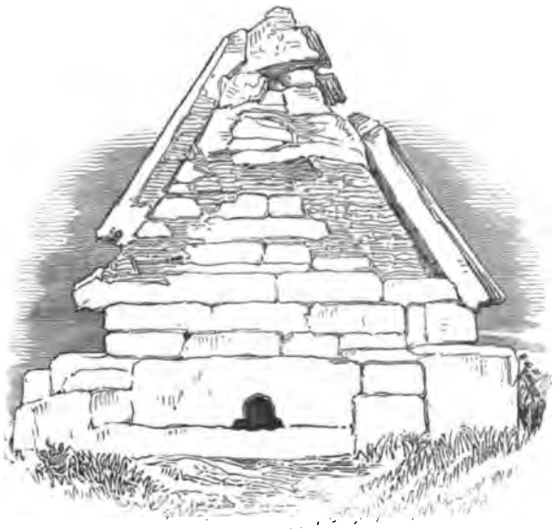
> "A grave of one door for a woman,
> A grave of two doors for a *saci*." &c.

If we accept the alternative of the *killeens* having been altogether Christian cemeteries of the Patrician Church, we shall probably have more difficulty in accounting for the repugnance against burying in them still manifested by the bulk of the people. In any case, if we admit a Christian element at all in their uses—as I conceive the evidences compel us to do—an inquiry will remain, certainly not less interesting than that we have been engaged on, as to how so many of the early Christian cemeteries of Ireland have come to be so discredited in the popular estimation.

POSTSCRIPT.—To the above illustrations, Figures 9 and 10, drawn from Petrie's Towers (these *Transactions*, vol. xx.), I add two examples of old Irish mortuary *cellæ* from the same source (pp. 450, 451); the tomb of St. Muirea-

dach O'Heney, near the church of Banagher, and that of the reputed founder of the church of Boveveagh; both places in the county of Londonderry.

In the one, we may compare the sculptured effigy, and, in the other, the aperture in the end-face, with the corresponding features on the Lorraine examples.



Petrie mentions that the tomb of St. Cadan—the Catanus of Patrick's Lives—beside the church of Tamlaght Ard, in the county of Londonderry, is a structure of the same character.

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[DECEMBER, 1885.]

THE

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OF THE

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VOLUME XXVII.

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18.—On the Cell-structure of Griffithsia setacea (*Ellis*), and on the development of its Antheridia and Tetraspores. By Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.C.S.I.; Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin. (With Plates XII. and XIII.),	0	2	6
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Title-page and Table of Contents to Volume XXVI.

VI.—*On the Patrician Documents.* By Sir Samuel Ferguson, LL. D.

[Read, Nov. 10, 1884; Jan. 12, 26; Feb. 9, 1885.]

I. The additional material recently supplied to Patrician criticism (*post*, xxvi.) invites to a review of the evidences, as they at present stand, bearing on the principal questions which have been raised regarding the writer of the *Confessio Patricii* and the *Coroticus* Epistle; namely, as respects—(*a*) his place of origin, (*b*) his career before entering on his Irish Mission, and (*c*) his epoch in time.

II. It is obvious that, in any general review of these evidences, the *Confessio* and *Coroticus*, as purporting to come from the hand of Patrick himself, ought to occupy the first place and be considered in their entirety; because whatever, in subsequent evidences, may conflict either with their general tenor, or with particular facts vouched by them, must be esteemed of less authority. As between the two documents themselves, the *Confessio*, although probably later in date, yet, as containing the record of the earlier events in the life of the writer, is given the precedence.

III. Assuming its authenticity, it is not only (next, perhaps, to the *Coroticus*) the oldest document in British history, but it affords a close and intimate view of the nature and mental disposition of one of the greatest of Christian missionaries.

IV. The texts used are those of the Book of Armagh and of Fell, 1, in the Bodleian Library, very faithful copies of which are to be found in the Appendix to Part II. of the Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland. The Bodleian text, as well as other exemplars used by Ware and the Bollandists,

contains considerably more matter than is to be found in the older transcript in the Book of Armagh. But that transcript bears many internal evidences of abridgment; and there is nothing in the more copious matter of the other copies necessarily at variance with it, so far as it has come down to us. The translation, therefore, has been grounded on both, distinguishing those parts not found in the Book of Armagh by technical indications, but preserving the continuity of the united texts. Both texts are more or less corrupt and defective—the Bodleian one exceedingly so. In neither of them can reliance be placed on the punctuation; and the divisions of sentences and paragraphs have to be adjusted to the apparent contexture of the writer's thoughts. Most of these blemishes have, no doubt, arisen from the carelessness of copyists; but the generally ungrammatical form and inartificial sequences of the composition are due, I would suppose, to the writer's imperfect knowledge and difficult use of the Latin language, to which he himself bears repeated testimony.

V. A literal prose translation, reflecting all the discontinuances and hesitancies of the original, would indeed repel most readers from the necessary task of collecting the general sense and bearing of the whole piece, and would scarcely at all realize the intense pervading fervor and—however obstructed in its utterance—the characteristic effusiveness of the original. To convey these in English prose would require something more in the nature of a free paraphrase, which would not be an acceptable constituent in a critical essay. What appears to me a less repellent and more exact form in which to present the piece, as combining literalness with suitability for the expression of that fervent and effusive feeling which underlies its broken Latinity, is a close version in English blank verse. That even rhymed English verse may rival the closest prose in conciseness, we may see in the "Essay on Man," the "*Religio Laici*," and other poems in our language. Blank verse, untrammelled by the necessities of rhyme, holds to the word and thought still closer. Indeed, no prose could, without affectation, admit such closeness as is allowable and congenial to this medium of translation. No translation, however, whether prose or metrical, can dispense with the very words of the original where questions of meaning are involved; but these are as easy

to be cited, in foot notes, in the one presentation of the general context as in the other.

VI. Translation from one language into another is often like the natural process of freezing—the product exceeding in bulk the producing material. But, in English translation from Latin, this need not be so. The number of words must indeed be greater, but the whole verbal bulk may be, and in the present instance will be found to be, less. In the Latin, which expresses by inflections what we in English accomplish by the use of auxiliary particles, fewer words suffice, but these greatly exceed their English equivalents in syllabic length. Thus, in the Latin version of the Lord's Prayer there are but forty-nine words as against fifty-five in the English version; but the latter has only seventy-four syllables in its fifty-five words as against one hundred and three syllables in the forty-eight words of the former.

VII. A version from the Latin, keeping within these limits, may be accepted as possessing the closeness of literal prose; and English blank verse need not exceed them, and may yet retain enough of freedom to reflect an original conceived with loftiness and energy. The version of the *Confessio* here presented will be found to come within the limits I have indicated. I believe it contains nothing that is not found in the original, and omits nothing of any materiality that is there found. It is a long time since a communication so entirely within the department of Polite Literature has been read before the Academy; but in the intervals of scientific and antiquarian discovery we shall not in any degree be outside our privileged pursuits, or wanting in duty to the other objects which they are designed to promote, if we occasionally addict ourselves to what our fathers have, I may be allowed to say, wisely designated the *Litteræ Humaniores.*

VIII. THE "CONFESSIO" OF SAINT PATRICK.

[The passages ending with (A) are from the Armagh Codex; those ending with (B) are from the Bodleian.]

(*Before A. D. 500.*)

I, Patrick, sinner, most unlearned of all
The Faithful, and of many most despised,
Had, for my father, Deacon Calphurn, son
Of Presbyter Potitus, of a place
5 Called Bannow of Tabernia, near whereto
He owned his country dwelling; and 'twas there
I suffered capture, then not full sixteen.
I knew not the true God; and, led away
Into captivity, with thousands more,
10 Was brought to Ireland—fate too well deserved.
For we from God had far withdrawn ourselves;
We kept not His commandments; and our priests,
Who urged salvation on us, heeded not;
And God upon us justly brought the wrath
15 Of His up-rousing, and dispersed us forth
Amongst the heathen, to the world's far end,
Here, where my Littleness may now be seen
'Mongst strangers; here, where God set free the sense
Receptive in my heart of unbelief,
20 That, even late, I should recall my sins,
And turn myself with all my heart to Him,
The Lord, who did regard my Smallness then
With pity for my youth and innocence;
Who, ere I knew Him, had me in His charge;
25 Yea, ere I knew to choose 'twixt good and ill,
Admonished me and gave me consolation,
As father might a son. And, therefore, now
I will not hide, nor could I, were it fit
To hide, such boons, such graces, as my Lord
30 Has deigned me here in my captivity.
And this my poor return; that having attained
The touch and apprehension of my God,

VIII. Confessio] I should with high exalted heart, in face
Of all that lives below all skies, confess
That other God nor was, nor is, nor shall be,
Save but the Lord, the Father unbegotten,
Without beginning, out of whom proceeds
Every beginning; He who in His hand
Holds all things as aforesaid; and His Son
Our Lord Christ Jesus, who, we do confess,
Was with the Father ere the worlds began;
Begotten of the Father spiritually,
In wise unspeakable, ere aught made was.
By Him were all things made, things visible
And things invisible. He was made Man,
And, conquering death, returned again to heaven.
And God gives Him all power o'er every name
Of things in earth and heaven and things in hell,
That every tongue may own that Jesus Christ
Is Lord and God, in whom we do believe
And wait His coming when He shall be judge
Of living and of dead; who shall repay
To each according to his deeds; and He
It is who pours on us abundantly
The gift and comfort of the Holy Spirit
And certain hope of immortality;
Who makes the well-believing and obedient
Sons of the Father, co-heirs with Himself,
Christ, whom we do confess and do adore,
One God in Trinity, of holy name.
Now He Himself has, by His prophet, said:
Call upon Me in tribulation's day,
And I will free, and thou shalt sound My praise.
And said again: *To show forth and confess*
The works of God is very honourable.
Therefore, though but ill-taught in many things,
I would my brethren and my friends to know
What kind I am, and that they may behold
The very thought that rises in my soul.
I not ignore the witness that my Lord

VIII. Confessio] Doth witness by the Psalmist: *They that speak*
Lies shall ye lose; nor, yet again, *The mouth*
That lies, shall lose his soul; and our said Lord
Saith in the Gospel thus: *The idle word*
75 *Men use, for it each soul that lives shall give*
Account and reckoning at the Judgment Day.
So me with fear and trembling it behoves
To dread the doom of liars, in that same day
When none can draw aside or hide himself,
80 But all must yield account, yea, of the least
Of all their faults, before the chair of Christ.
Wherefore long time I've had in mind to write,
But up till now abstained me; for I feared
Lest I should fall in censure of men's tongues:
85 Because I have not read as others have,
Who, excellently versed in civic law*
And sacred letters, in a like degree,
Have never since their childhood changed their speech,
But rather made it perfecter by use;
90 Whereas this speech and utterance of mine
Is here transformed into another tongue;
And, by the savour of the style I use,
'Tis easy to be judged how I've been taught †
And trained in diction. As the Wise One saith,
95 *Sense, knowledge, and the doctrine of the truth*
Show by the tongue. But what avails excuse
Beside the fact? when here ye all may judge
The actual way in which, in my old age,
I strive at what, in youth, I never learned.
100 For then my sins obstructed. I was still,

* "Excellently versed in civic law:" *Qui optime itaque jure et sacras literas utroque pari modo combiberunt*, with the annotation in margin *Incertus liber hic.*

† "How I've been taught:" *Sicut facile potest probari ex alius* [*ex salivâ*] *scripturae meae qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus*, would be nearer the drift of the original if expressed:

> "'Tis easy to be judged what kind of school
> I've been brought up in."

Sum ego = *ta me*, in the Irish.

VIII. Confessio] When captured, but a lad, a beardless boy,
That knew not what to seek or what to shun.
Therefore to-day it shames me to disclose
My ignorance; because I have not learned
105 With brevity and elegance of speech
To treat deep things, as, how the Spirit moves
The soul's affections and the human mind.
But were it given me, as it is to some,
I would not long be slow to sing His praise,
110 Even though to some perchance in this I seem
Presumptuous, with my rude and stammering tongue.
Yet it is written that *the stammering tongue*
Shall yet be swift to speak the words of peace.
How much the more, then, lies that charge on us
115 Who, *Christ's Epistles*, to the world's far ends
Bear word of His salvation; not, indeed,
Learned words, but words of power *writ in our hearts,*
Not with pen-ink, but by the Spirit of God.
Yea and again that Spirit testifies
120 *Unlearning also comes from the Most High.*
Wherefore I, chief and first of the unlearned,
God's runaway, untaught, who nothing know
How to provide the morrow, surely know
This, that, before my happy humbling came,
125 I was as is a stone that, in deep mire,
Lies on the highway: and He came, who can,
And, in His pity, thence did lift me up
And set me on the wall-top. Therefore I
Will now be bold and eager-prompt to pay
130 The tribute of my praises to the Lord
Who has bestowed His everlasting boons
So great on me as pass the mind of man.
Wherefore all ye who fear the Lord, admire,
Both great and small; and ye, ye great and learned,
135 Lords of the land, and Rhetoricians,
Hear and enquire, who was it raised me up,
Me, foolish me, from midst of them esteemed
Wise men and law-learned, and in power of speech,

VIII. Confessio] As in all else, prepotent, and inspired
140 Me, even me, the butt of this world's scorn,
Above the rest, to be what now I am
Here, whilst at least with fear and reverence
Faithful in heart and uncomplainingly
I serve this people, to whom the charity
145 Of Christ assigns me, for my rest of life,
If I be worthy; that, with humble heart
And truthful lips, I teach it, in the faith
And measure of the Holy Trinity.
Behoves me, therefore, fearless of rebuke
150 Or danger, that I do set forth the gift
And everlasting consolation
Of God; and fearlessly declare His name
Abroad where'er I be: that also, so,
After my death, I leave, as my bequest*
155 Amongst the children of my baptism,
These many thousands. Not, indeed, that I
Was worthy that my Lord his servant poor
Should so far favor, after all the toils,
The hardships heavy, and the captive years
160 Borne 'mongst this people;—should bestow such grace
As, till I came to Ireland,† I nor knew
Nor ever hoped. But, herding daily here,
And often in the day saying my prayers,
Daily there more and more did grow in me
165 The fear of God. And holy fear and faith
Increased in me, that in a single day
I've said as many as a hundred prayers,
And in the night scarce fewer; so that oft
In woods and on the mountain I've remained,
170 And risen to prayer before daylight, through snow,

* "Bequest:" *Ex agallias*: the word divided so between end of one line and beginning of another. *Exagallias*—DU CANGE.

† "'Till I came to Ireland:" *quod ego in iuuentute mea nunquam speraui neque cogitaui sed postquam in hiberione deueneram:* where *sed*, as in line 231, *post*, seems to be used in the sense of the Irish *acht* = *nisi*.

VIII. Confessio] Through frost, through rain, and yet I took no ill,
Nor was there in me then aught slow as now,
For then the Spirit of God within me burned.
And there it was, one night, in sleep, I heard
175 A voice that said to me: "Thou fastest well
That soon shalt see thy land and home again."
Soon after which, again, I heard the voice,
And this is what it said: "Behold, thy ship
Is ready," but the ship lay nowise near,
180 But nigh two hundred miles off, and where I
Had never been before, and no man knew.
So, thereupon, I turned myself to flight,
Leaving* the man whom I had served six years;
And by the help of God, who showed me well†
185 The way to go, nought dreading, found the ship.
But it, before I came, had left its place
And lay elsewhere. I craved to go on board.
My suit displeased the Master: with harsh speech
He answered me, "Thou shall not come with us."
190 Which when I heard, I left them there, to reach
My hut wherein I lodged, and as I went
Began to pray. Before my prayer was done,
I heard one of them calling after me,
"Come, for in faith we did receive thee; come,
195 Make friendship with us in what way thou wilt."
And so, that day, I did make friends with them,
Out of God's fear, and for, besides, I hoped
To hear them yet say, "Come, in faith of Christ."
For Heathens were they. So I clave to them.
200 We forthwith sailed, and, in a three days' run,
We took the land; and eight and twenty days
We crossed a desert, after: where our food
Failed, and keen hunger fell upon us all.

* "Leaving the man:" *intermisi hominem.* "I separated from the man," as if the thought expressed in this singular use of *intermitto* had been conceived in some form of the Irish *etar-scairim*, that is, *inter-separo.*

† "Well," *ad bonum*, as in the Irish *go maith.*

VIII. Confessio] Then, one day, said the Master thus to me,
205 "What, Christian, you who say your God is great,
Good, and Almighty, why not pray for us
Who perish here of hunger, where the face
Of men is hardly seen?" Then I spoke thus
Before them all: "Turn ye your sinful hearts:
210 Convert you to the Lord my God, to whom
Nought is impossible, that He, this day,
Send you whereof ye yet may eat your fill;
For all things everywhere abound with Him."
God aiding, so it was. Behold, a drove
215 Of swine came on the road before our eyes.
Many they slew; two nights we tarried there
Well nourished, and our dogs filled full: for they
Were semi-starved, and many left we there
Half dead beside the way. Then praise to God
220 All gave, and I much honour in their sight
Obtained, and thenceforward, abundantly
Fared we. Wild honey also in the wood
Found they, and offered of it, and one said,
"'Tis sacrificial; taste." I tasted none;
225 For which, thank God. On that same night I lay
Sleeping, when Satan sorely troubled me,
As well I shall remember, for as long
As in this mortal body I shall be.
He fell upon me, as a mighty mass
230 Of rock might fall, so that in all my limbs
Remained not but so much* of power as brought
Into my mind the thought to cry, "Helias."
With which word in my mouth, I saw the sun
Rise in the heavens; and while I cried, "Helias,"
235 With all my might, its radiance fell on me,
And banished all my torpor: and I think
'Twas Christ, my Lord, who gave my cry for help,
And sent His succour. Even so, I hope,

* "But so much:" *et nihil membrorum praeualens sed unde mihi uenit in spiritum ut heliam uocarem. Sed = acht = nisi*, as in line 161.

VIII. Confessio] 'Twill be hereafter, in the dreadful day
240 Of my last pressure. And the Gospel says (A),
In that day testifies the Lord Himself,
The Spirit of the Father it is that speaks
Within you (B), *not yourselves.* (Whereby) again
I suffered bondage,* after many years
245 Continuing till this day, from that first night.
And so remained I in their company,
But heard the same voice I had heard before
Say, "Two full months shalt thou abide with them."
And so it was: for, on the very night
250 Following the sixtieth day, the Lord me freed
Out of their hands. He gave us food and fire,
Daily dry weather too, till, at the last,
Upon the tenth day, when we all arrived,—
Days eight and twenty in the desert spent,
255 As is above said†—there remained to us
No morsel left of food; and (so),‡ once more,
These few years passed, I found myself at home
Amongst the Britons § with my family,
Who all received me as they might a son,
260 And earnestly besought me, that at length
After these many perils I had borne,
I never more would leave them.

* "Again I suffered bondage:" *sicut in æuangelio inquit dominus non uos estis* (A), *qui loquimini sed spiritus patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis et iterum post annos* (B) *multos adhuc capturam dedi ea nocte prima* (A). A passage of great obscurity, here brought into the apparent sequence of the narrative by the introduced "whereby." The subject, too long to discuss in a note, is examined in par. xxix., *post.*

† "As is above said:" *nocte illa sexagessima liberauit me dominus de manibus eorum etiam in itinere præuidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem cotidie donec* x. *decimo die peruenimus omnes sicut superius insinuaui* xx. *et* viii. *disertum iter fecimus et ea nocte qua peruenimus,* &c. To whichever antecedent the words of reference *sicut superius insinuaui* relate, it is evident that the twenty-eight days in the desert were part of one continuous journey (*post,* xxx.), commencing at the Irish shore, and ending at Patrick's home *in Brittanis.* The discrepancy in numbers is, no doubt, due to errors of transcription.

‡ "So," introduced as "whereby," above.

§ "Amongst the Britons:" *in Britannis,* as in the Irish gloss on Fiacc, *in bretnaib.*

VIII. Confessio] It was there
In a night vision I beheld a man
Coming as 'twere from Ireland. Victor he.
265 Innumerable letters bore he: one
He gave to me to read. I read one line,
"The voices of the Irish," so it ran.
And while I read, methought I heard the cry
Of them that by the wood of Foeluth dwell,
270 Beside the Western Ocean, saying thus,
"Come, holy youth, and walk amongst us. Come!"
All with one voice. It touched me to the heart,
And I could read no more; and so awoke—
Thank God at last who, after many years,
275 Has given to them according to their cry!
And, on another night, I know not, I,
God knows, if 'twas within me or without,
One prayed with words exceeding exquisite
I could not understand, till, at the close,
280 He spoke in this wise—"He who gave his soul
For thee, is He who speaks." I woke with joy.
And once I saw Him—praying, as it were
Within me, and I saw myself as though
Within myself, and over me, that is
285 Over the inner man, I heard Him pray
Strongly with urgent groans, myself the while
Amazed, and wondering who should pray in me,
Till, at the very ending of his prayer,
He showed, a bishop.* I awoke and called
290 To memory what His apostle says—
The Spirit helps the weakness of our prayer;
For when we pray, and know not as we ought
What to pray for, the Spirit Himself doth pray
For us with groanings inexpressible
295 *Not to be put in words.* And yet again,

* "He showed, a bishop:" *Sic efficiatus est ut sit episcopus.* It might be conjectured to be mistranscription for *sic effatus est ut sis episcopus;* but the internal presence of the great bishop of souls seems more consistent with the context.

VIII. Confessio] *The Lord our Advocate doth plead for us* (A).

And when* some certain of my seniors came
Against my toilsome, hard episcopate,
And made impeachment of me for my sins,
300 In that day truly I was tempted sore
To fall both now and everlastingly.
But the Good Lord, for His name's sake, did spare
His proselyte and pilgrim, so as I
Out of that treading-under came not ill
305 With stain and shame upon me. I pray God
It be not made occasion to themselves
Of sin. They found me, after thirty years,†
To charge me with one word I had confessed
Before I was a deacon. In my grief
310 And pain of mind I to my dearest friend
Told what I in my boyhood, in one day,
Yea, in one hour had done:—because as yet
I had not strength: I know not, Heaven knows,
If, at that time, I yet had fifteen years.—
315 I had not yet believed the living God
Even from my childhood; but remained in death
And unbelief till sore chastised I was
By hunger, nakedness, and enforced toil
Daily in Ireland,—for I came not here
320 Self-sent—until, indeed, I almost sank.
Yet these were rather boons to me, because,
So chastened by the Lord, I now am made
What once was far from me, that I should care

* "And when:" *Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis qui venerunt . . . contra laboriosum episcopatum meum.* When? Where? Whence did the seniors come? and was the episcopate prospective or subsisting? The answers to these questions depend in great measure on the *terminus a quo* from which the thirty years, next mentioned, are to be computed.

† "After thirty years:" *Post annos triginta invenerunt me.* If the *terminus a quo* be referred to the commission of the fault, *invenerunt* must be read as in the sense of moral detection, which is difficult. If read as in the ordinary sense of finding out topically, the *terminus* should apparently be referred to Patrick's departure on this Irish mission. But see *post*, l. 419.

VIII. Confessio] Or labour for the weal of others, I
325 Who then took no thought even for myself.
On which same day when these my elder ones
Rebuked me (B), in a vision of the night,
I saw a script against me,* and no name
Of honor written, and, the while, I heard
330 That voice within make answer, "We are here
Ill-styled by name stripped bare of dignity."
It was not "Thou art here ill-styled," it said,
But "we," as if the Speaker joined himself
Incorporately with me, and the voice
335 Were His who once said, *Whoso toucheth thee,*
Toucheth as 'twere the apple of mine eye.
Wherefore my thanks I render unto Him
Who in all things hath been my comforter,
That He impeded not my going forth
340 Whereon I had resolved, nor stayed the work
Which my dear God had taught me I should do;
Nay, rather felt I as from Him new strength
Infused. And so before both God and man
My faith was proved, wherein I boldly say
345 My conscience reprehends me in no wise,
Now, nor yet will. I take to witness God
I have not lied relating what I heard
In these communings (A). But I rather grieve
For him, my dearest friend, that we should need
350 To hear such answer† given—my friend of friends
To whom I did confide my very soul—
And certain brethren had advertised me

* "I saw a script against me:" *vidi in vissu noctis scriptum erat contra facem meam sine honore et inter haec audiui responsum dicentem male audiuimus* [*scripto contra*] *faciem designati nudato nomine.* A most difficult passage, not helped by the corresponding Bodleian text. *Contra faciem* is perhaps the Irish *in agaid* "adversum;" and, in that sense, the passage may be made to bear the meaning it has in the version, by introducing the two words in brackets, but otherwise seems hopelessly obscure. For *male audio*, in the sense given, see the examples in Facciolati, '*audio*.'

† "Hear such answer:" *Cur hoc meruimus asidire tale responsum*, referring apparently to "we are here ill-styled," *supra*.

VIII. Confessio] That he, before that inhibition made,*
In that debate wherein I had not part
355 Nor moved I it, nor was I then in Britain—
Had in my absence battled bravely for me.
Yea, he with his own mouth had said to me,
"Behold, thou art deemed worthy of the grade
Of Bishop;" though indeed unworthy I.
360 Whence comes it, then, that he should afterwards,
In presence of them all, both good and bad,
Thus publicly degrade me, and deny
What, unsolicited, of his own will,
He gladly had conceded me before?
365 But God is over all: of this enough.
No; I must (not) conceal† the gift of God
Which, in this land of my captivity,
He hath bestowed me, which with earnest quest
I sought for and here found. He me hath saved
370 From all unrighteousness; and I believe
By reason of the indwelling comity,
And trust in Him which, even to this day
Doth work within me audibly.‡ He knows
Were these man's voices. Had they been, belike
375 Christ's charity had made me hold my peace.
Therefore unwearied thanks I render Him
Who kept me faithful in temptation's hour,
That I to-day should live to offer up
Myself a living sacrifice to Him,
380 My Saviour, my Preserver. Well may I
Say, Lord, what am I, or my calling what
That with such favor, with such aid divine
Thou hast environed and uplifted me,
As daily I amongst the Gentiles rise
385 Higher and higher, whilst I glorify
Thy name where'er I be. Whate'er befalls,

* "Before that inhibition:" *ante defensionem illam.*

† "I must (not) conceal:" *Sed tamen debeo abscondere: non* omitted in text?

‡ "Audibly," *audienter.*

VIII. Confessio] Happy or wretched, good or ill, the same
I deem; and equally for it thank Thee
With thanks perpetual for that Thou hast shown
390 Him the most sure indubitable One,
In whom I may believe for ever; Him
Who will for ever hear me. So, too, I,
In these last days, though ignorant, may dare
Address me to a work so holy-good,
395 So wondrous, as may even make parity
'Twixt me and them, who, He himself foretold
Should bear His joyful message, witnessing
Him to all people, ere the world should end.
And we do witness here, the Gospel now
400 Is preached so far as no man is beyond(B).
'Twere long, in whole or part, to tell my toils,
Or how the Almighty One did oft release
Me from enslavement; and from perils twelve,
Wherein my life was ventured; and from snares,
405 The which I cannot put in words. 'Twere ill
Too much to tax my reader where I have
The Author's self within, who all things knows,
Even before they happen, as He knows
Me, his poor pupil. And for that it is
410 The voice divine doth oft admonish me:
Whence came this wisdom to me who had none,
Nor knew the number of my days nor Him?
Whence came this knowledge and this heart's delight
In this His gift so great, so salutary,
415 That, for its sake, I well contented left
Country and kin? And many were the gifts
They offered me with yearning and with tears.
And certain of my seniors, too, made known
Their disapproval;* but with the help of God

* "Their disapproval." If this be the same opposition of the seniors above related (l. 297), and again in more general terms referred to, *post* (l. 556–60), it should be deemed to have preceded Patrick's mission, whatever difficulty that construction might entail in interpreting *invenerunt*.

VIII. Confessio] 420 In no way did I yield them my consent:—
Not mine the grace; but God it was in me,
Who conquered through me and withstood them all,
That I might come to preach His Gospel here
To the Hibernian people, that I here
425 Should suffer the contempts of unbelievers,
Should hear derision of my embassage,
And many persecutions, even to chains,
Endure; nay, even my own patrician grade
Forfeit for others' good. And if I be
430 But worthy to do somewhat for His name,
Ready I am, this hour, with all my heart,
To yield Him service, even to my death,
Who this grace does me that, through means of me,
Much people is re-born to God, confirmed,
435 And clerks ordained for their instruction,
New coming to the faith from earth's far ends,
And gathered to the Lord, even as, of old,
He promised by His prophet, *They shall come*
From outmost ends of earth; and also says,
440 *Our fathers got them idols, and therein*
Had nothing profitable; and again
This also: *I have set thee as a light*
To light the Gentile, that thou shouldst make safe
Even to the ends of earth. And here I wait
445 To see fulfilled His words, who ne'er deceived,
As promised in the Gospel,—*They shall come*
From east and west, and sit down side by side
With Abraham and with Isaac and with Jacob.
Even so do we believe from all the world
450 The faithful come. Behoves it, therefore, we
Fish well and diligently, as the Spirit says,
Come after Me that I may make of you
Fishers of men; and, by His prophet, again,
Behold, of fishermen and hunters keen
455 *I send a multitude; so saith the Lord.*
*Et cætera.** Whereby it much behoves

* "*Et cætera:*" Probably an indication of abridgment (iv. *supra*).

VIII. Confessio] We spread our nets in such wise as a shoal
And multitude be taken; and that clerks
Be everywhere at hand who may baptize
460 The hastening crowd, even as our good Lord saith
In His evangel, *Going, therefore, forth,*
Teach ye all nations, and the same baptise
In name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Teaching them to observe what things soe'er
465 *I have commanded; and, lo, I myself*
Am with you till the final consummation
Of all things; and again says, *Going forth*
Into the whole world, preach ye my evangel
To every creature living. Who believes
470 *And is baptised, is safe. Who not believes,*
He shall be damned *(A). And He again says thus:
The gospel of my kingdom shall be preached
To the whole world; and witness shall be made
To all the nations, and then comes the end.
475 Likewise our Lord doth by His prophet say,
Lo, in the latter days, thus saith the Lord,
I shall pour forth my Spirit on all flesh.
Your sons and daughters they shall prophesy,
Your youths see visions, and old men dream dreams.
480 *And on your servants and your handmaidens*
In these days shall I pour my Spirit, and they
Shall prophesy. And also Hosee says,
Her will I call my people who was not
My people, and on her will pity take
485 *On whom I took not pity; and in the place*
Wherein 'twas said no people of mine are ye,
There shall they yet be called the sons of God (B).
Whence now the Irish, who, in former days,
Had but their idols and their rites unclean,
490 Nor aught knew of the Lord, have late become
The Lord's own people. And the sons of Scots

* The words "reliqua sunt exempla" here occur in the Armagh Codex, left untranslated, as being probably the language of the scribe, indicating abridgment from a fuller text.

VIII. Confessio] And daughters of their kings, now sons of God
Are counted, and vowed handmaidens of Christ (A).
And one bless'd Scotic lady nobly born,
495 A most fair person whom myself baptised,
Came, soon thereafter, making her report
Of intimation by a messenger
Sent her from God with His admonishment
That virgin she should live and nearer Him.
500 In six days after,—thank the Lord for it,—
With excellent observance she assumed
The grade desired of all Christ's handmaidens:
Not at their parents' bidding. They from them
Suffer reproach and persecution,
505 Yet, notwithstanding, still the number grows
Of those of our kind daily born to us
I know not, I, how many they are, besides
Widows and women continent; of whom
They chiefly suffer who, in bondage held,
510 Bear threats and terrors: yet they persevere,
And God to many of them grants the grace
That, if but in a little, earnestly
They follow His example. Whence it comes
Should I now care to leave them, going forth
515 It may be into Britain,* sure 'twere sweet
To see one's country and one's kin again:
Or farther yet proceeding, even to Gaul,
To see the brethren, and the faces see
Of my Lord's saints, God knows I were right glad,
520 But in the Spirit am bound: and He declares
I were God's recreant did I leave them so.
Moreover, truth it is, I would not lose
The fruit of all my labour well begun.
Yet 'tis not I determine, but my Lord,
525 He who commanded I should hither come,

* "Going forth, it may be into Britain," &c.: *ut pergens in britanniis et libentissime paratus eram quasi ad patriam et parentes non id solum sed usque gallias uisitare fratres et ut uiderem faciem sanctorum domini mei.* In some of the MSS. the words are *fratres meos.*

VIII. Confessio] That here I should fulfil my rest of days
In serving them: and so methinks I shall:
Albeit but little trust I in myself,
Clad in this body of death; for he is strong
530 Who daily struggles to subvert my faith,
And turn me from the unfeigned chastity
I'll keep, God helping, till my days do end.
The flesh indeed still draws us down to death,
And snares of lawless pleasure; and I know
535 In part the reason why I cannot live
The perfect life His other faithful souls
Achieve; but to my good Lord I avow
I blush not at His searching of my heart;
For since I first did know Him in my youth,
540 His love and fear have ever grown in me,
And I, He helping, still have kept the faith.
Let him who will, then, laugh: let him who will,
Scoff. I shall not keep silence, nor conceal
The signs and marvels ministered to me
545 Of God, who knoweth all things many years
Before they are; yea, from before all time.
Wherefore ought I unintermittingly
Give thanks to Him that He did so indulge
My ignorance and sloth, not once but oft;
550 And not as with an object of just wrath
Dealt with me, but as with His yoke-fellow,
Though slow I was to learn the part enjoined,
And by the Spirit shown; who pitied me
'Mongst thousand thousands other; for He saw
555 That I was willing-ready, but knew not
In what way to bear witness: for they all*
Opposed my mission, and, behind my back,
Did prate and say, "This one, forsooth, would put
His life in jeopardy 'mongst enemies,
560 Who of the Lord know nothing," not as though
They spoke in malice: but, indeed, because

* "They all:" See *ante*. l. 419.

VIII. Confessio] My wish did not commend itself to them,
By reason, I confess, of my defect
In learning. And I did not recognise
565 At once the grace that then was in me—grace
Now efficacious as it then had been,
Had I been as I ought.
Thus simply, then,
Brethren and fellow servants in the Lord
Who have believed with me, I've told to you
570 How it has come to pass that, for the sake
Of strengthening and confirming you in faith,
I have preached, and still do, hoping we all
May yet rise higher. That be my reward!
Because *the wise son is his father's glory.*
575 You know, and God knows, what way from my youth
I have conversed amongst you, in the faith
Of truthfulness and singleness of heart:
That to the people I do dwell amongst
I have declared the faith, and so do still.
580 God knows that I no man of them in aught
Have circumvened, nor, for the sake of Him
And of His Church, will ever; nor provoke
In them, or anyone, uncharity,
Whereby the name of God may be blasphemed
585 In me, for it is written, *Wo to him*
By *whom the name of God shall be blasphemed.*
And, unlearned though I be in skill of words,
Yet have I striven in some poor sort to serve
My Christian brethren and Christ's handmaidens,
590 And pious women who of their free will
Did oft bestow me gifts, and on mine altar
Cast of their jewels, which I still returned,
Though thereby they were grieved: and, for the hope
Of life eternal, have so led my life,
595 Here with them, so on guard, as none may find
In any tittle of my ministry
Cause of offence, nor let my smallest act
Afford occasion to the infidel

VIII. Confessio] To sully or diminish my good fame.
600 Think ye, where I such thousands have baptised,
I took from any of them, in recompense,
But half a scruple. Tell me when, or where?
I will return it. Yea, where God ordained
Through my weak ministry these many Clerks,
605 *Gratis* I gave them orders. If I asked
Of any to the value but of my shoe,
Tell me: I will repay it you and more.
'Twas rather I who spent my worldly wealth
On you, amongst you, wheresoe'er I went,
610 In your behalf, through perils manifold,
So far as no man was beyond, nor there
Had ever come who might give baptism,
Ordain a clergy, or confirm the flock.
God aiding, I did, with most willing mind
615 And diligent affection to your weal,
Defray it all. Sometimes I fee'd the kings,
In that I fee'd their sons who gave convoy
To guard us all from capture. In one day
They sought, indeed, to slay me; but my time
620 Was not yet come. But all the goods they found
Upon us they bore off, and me myself
Kept bound with iron, till, the fourteenth day,
The Lord did loose me from their power; and all
Our goods were given us back, for the Lord's sake,
625 And sake of our conductors. You yourselves
Have knowledge what gratuities I spent
On them that did administer the law
Throughout the regions I most visited.
I think not less than fee of fifteen men
630 I did disburse amongst them, all, that you
Might me enjoy, and I again in you
Have manifold enjoyment in the Lord.
Nor grudge I it, nor count it yet enough.
Lo, I still spend, and still will further spend,
635 Happy if He, who can, shall yet allow
That for your sakes I even may spend my soul (B).

VIII. Confessio] I call to witness God I do not lie,
Nor write as seeking opportunity
Of lucre or of flattery or reward
640 Of praise. That honour is enough for me
Which is not seen, but in the heart believed (A).
But He who promised never lies (B). I see
Myself, in this my generation,
Beyond degree exalted by my Lord,
645 Unworthy though I am, nor such as He
Might deign so favour. For I surely know
That poverty and plainness fit me more
Than luxury and riches. Christ our Lord
Was also poor for us. I poorer still,
650 For, should I crave for wealth, I have it not.
Nor judge I now myself: for daily now
I look to find my death by violence,
Or, captive, to be sold to slavery,
Or some such end: (A) but none of these I fear,
655 Having assurance of His promises,
For I have cast me in the hands of God
Who governs all things, and his prophet saith,
Cast thou thy burden on the Lord, and He
Will aid thee. Yes, I do commend my soul
660 To my most faithful God whose embassage
I here discharge, howe'er unworthily.
For He respects not persons, but did choose
Me to this office, that, amongst the crowd
Of His ambassadors, I might be least.
665 What shall I render back to Him for all
His benefits conferred on me? What say
Or promise to Him when I plainly see
I nothing have unless He gives it me,
Yea, though I search the heart and reins. Enough,
670 More than enough I count it, well content,
If He but give me that I drink His cup
As granted other claimants of His love;
But never, never let me lose the flock
He pastures by me in earth's outland here!

VIII. Confessio] 675 God grant me that! And that I persevere
In faithful witness to my journey's end.
And if, for His sake, I have aught of good
Accomplished, for His love, I pray Him grant
That with His captives and His proselytes,
680 Even for His name's sake I may shed my blood,
Be it without my dues of burial,
Yea, though this wretched body and these limbs
Be torn asunder by devouring dogs,
Wild beasts, or fowls of heaven. I surely know
685 Did this befall me, I should so enrich
My soul with my poor body; and I know
Clad in our bodies we shall all arise
In that day, in the brightness of the sun,
To wit, in glory of Lord Jesus Christ,
690 Our dear Redeemer, rise as sons of God,
And co-heirs with Himself, conformable
To His own image as it then shall be.
For this sun, which we see, doth daily rise
At God's commandment; but God so ordains
695 It shall not always rise, nor shall its light
Endure for ever. It shall fade, and they
That worship it shall perish: but, for us
We do believe and worship the true Sun,
Christ, which shall never perish, nor shall He
700 Who doth His will, but shall endure for ever,
As Christ Himself, who, in the heaven of heavens,
Reigns with the Father and the Holy Ghost
Now and for everlastingly—Amen.
Again and yet again I iterate
705 My brief words of Confession, and declare,
In truth, and in uplifting of the heart,
Before my God and His most holy angels,
That other object never did I look to
In coming back* again amongst this people,

* "In coming back:" *Ut unquam redderem* [*redirem*] *agentem* [*ad gentem*] *illam; Unde autem prius uix euaseram.* A good example of the corrupt state of the Bodleian text.

VIII. Confessio] 710 From whom so hardly I escaped before,
Save but the Evangel and His promises (B).
And now beseech all them that do believe
And fear the Lord, whoe'er they be shall deign
Look on this writing or receive the same
715 Which sinner Patrick, I, the much-unlearned,
Have writ in Ireland, that no man may say
My Ignorance it was dictated aught,
If any aught of good be therein seen
Such as may pleasure God, but rather deem
720 For certain that it doth proceed from Him.
And this is my Confession e'er I die (A).

IX. The first impression made by this narrative as regards Patrick's place of origin, certainly is, that Bannow Taberniæ was in insular Britain; because, in speaking of his desire to revisit his family from Ireland (viii. 518–24), he puts Gaul beyond them. The first impression also is that no great length of time elapsed between his Call and his proceeding on his mission; and that the intermediate time was spent in Britain; because he thanks God for not having impeded him in going forth (*ib.* 340) on his mission to the Irish (*ib.* 422), notwithstanding the opposition of his family and seniors, which struggle, commencing in Britain, appears to have been continuous and presumably carried on in one place. The only intimation of epoch is, vaguely, that it was in Christian times, and while a well-settled Church-organization existed in that part of Britain in which his family were settled.

X. Besides these probable matters of fact, and the lively traits of Patrick's personal character which it furnishes, the *Confessio* intimates that on some occasion—the place of which is not distinctly specified—he had experienced an injurious opposition against his "laborious episcopate," then seemingly in course of prosecution, when some personal title of distinction was withheld from him in what may be inferred to have been an ecclesiastical script (viii. 279–44), and that at some previous time, he not then being in Britain, his conduct, apparently in

reference to episcopal functions, had been the subject of discussion in some assemblage, probably synodical, in that country (*ib.* 348–59).

XI. The *Coroticus* Epistle is not found with the *Confessio* in the Book of Armagh; but while the *Confessio* has always been referred to as "Epistolarum Patricii Liber Primus," the *Coroticus* has in like manner been known as "Epistolarum Patricii Liber Secundus,"and, in the Book of Armagh, the entitlement under which the *Confessio* is found is "Incipiunt Libri Sancti Patricii Episcopi," showing that at least another was intended to accompany it. The *Coroticus*, as will be seen, contains much internal evidence of having proceeded from the same hand as the *Confessio* (conf. viii. 454–5, with xii. 122–4; and viii. 492–4, with xii. 134–6, &c.). It also, like the *Confessio*, uses some expressions not consonant to the Latin but to the Celtic idiom, as though the writer in both conceived his thoughts in some form of Celtic speech and expressed them in Latin (viii. 93 *n*, 161 *n*, 183 *n*, 184 *n*, 231 *n*, 258 *n*, 328 *n*, and xii. 69 *n*, 140 *n*, 188 *n*). It is a shorter piece than the *Confessio*, and in some respects less interesting. In the *Confessio* the inner nature of the writer is seen throughout. In the *Coroticus* he is seen in his relations with an external world of wrong and suffering, against which he struggles with the grief and indignation any pastor might experience whose flock had been made the prey of lawless violence. Still there breathes through its reproaches and words of technical objurgation a lofty sentiment and energy of imagination which would make any prose translation inadequate to its full reproduction. It is therefore presented here as, in form as well as substance, a companion piece to the *Confessio*. No important difference of meaning arises on any verbal discrepancy of the texts. That used by the Bollandists is here adopted, from Villanueva, who has appended notes of the various readings (*S. Patricii Synodi et opuscula*, 240).

XII. THE "COROTICUS" EPISTLE.

(*Before A. D. 500.*)

I, Patrick—I, a sinner and unlearned,
Here in Hibernia constituted bishop,
Believe most surely that it is from God
I hold commission to be that I am,
5 A proselyte and pilgrim, for His love,
Here amongst savage peoples. He who knows
All things, knows also if this be not so.
  I would not aught so harsh and so severe
From me proceeded; but constrained I am
10 By zeal for God and for the truth of Christ,
And stirred to anger for my people's sake,
My sons in God, for whom I made exchange
Of kin and country, and did vow myself
For rest of life, if worthy, even to death,
15 To teach the Heathen; though, indeed, by some
My function now be held in small esteem.
  Therefore these words I, with my proper hand,
Have framed and witten, for delivery
To these the soldiers' of Coroticus;
20 I say not, to my fellow-citizens,
Nor fellow-citizens of pious Romans,
But rather fellow-citizens of Fiends,
Because of their ill deeds, who, barbarously,
In manner full of hatred, live in death,
25 Companions of the Scots and Picts apostate,
Intent to glut their savage souls in blood
Of innocents unnumbered, by myself
In God begotten and in Christ confirmed.
  The day wherein my white-robed neophytes—
30 The chrism still wet and glistening on their brows—
Passed at the sword's edge of these murderers,
The day next following, sent I my Epistles
By one whom from his youth I had brought up,

XII. Coroticus] A holy Presbyter, with other clerks,
35 Beseeching that some portion of their spoils
They might forgive us, and set free again
The baptized captives whom they still detained:
They answered my request with jeers and laughter.
Alas, I know not which the more to mourn,
40 Them slain, or them made prisoners, or them
Whom Satan therein made his instruments;
Who, with himself, must in the pains of hell
Hereafter have their lasting recompense:
For, *He who sins the servant is of sin*
45 And worthy to be called the Son of Satan.
Know ye then, all men having fear of God,
That alien unto me and unto Him
Whose office here I execute, are they
Fratricides, parricides, devouring wolves
50 Who swallow up the people of the Lord
As 'twere a meal of bread. But it is written,
The wicked have made void Thy law. That law,
Which in Hibernia in those latter days,
Thou didst set up so fair and excellent.
55 God granting, I intrude on no man's right,
But have my part, with others He has called
And pre-appointed, to proclaim His gospel,
Through no small persecutions, to earth's ends;
Albeit the enemy doth strive against me
60 By tyranny of this Coroticus,
Who knows not fear of God or of God's priests,
His chosen ones, to whom He delegates
The power supreme and awful: *Whatsoe'er*
Ye bind on earth it shall be bound in heaven.
65 Wherefore, beseech you, all that holy are,
And all of humble heart, that with such men
Ye hold no flattering converse. You, with them,
Eat not nor drink; nor of them take their alms,
Until with rigorous* penance, and with tears
70 Effused, they make atonement, and set free

* "With rigorous penance:" *Crudeliter*, agreeable to the Irish *cruaid* "hard.

XII. Coroticus] These new-baptized handmaidens of Christ,
For whom He died and suffered on the cross.
For the Most High doth not respect the gifts
The unjust offer. *He who offers up*
75 *Out of the poor man's substance, is as he*
Who slays the son in presence of the father.
Again: *The riches he is gorged withal*
Forth from his belly he shall vomit up.
Death's messenger shall hale him, and *the ire*
80 *Of dragons shall assail him. Tongue of asp*
Shall slay him. Inextinguishable fire
Consume him. Woe to them that fill themselves
With that not theirs. What profits it a man
To gain the whole world, if he lose himself,
85 *And suffer condemnation of his soul?*
Long were the list, to run through all the law
Denounced by God against cupidity.
Greed is a mortal sin. Thou shalt not covet
Thy neighbour's goods. Thou shalt commit no murder.
90 *The homicide cannot be one with Christ.*
Who hates his brother shall a murderer
Be deemed, and he who loves not his own brother
Remains in death. How much more guilty he
Who stains his hands in blood of God's own children,
95 Lately acquired to Him in earth's far ends,
Here through my Littleness's ministry.
What! was it then without God's promises
Or in the body only that I came
To Ireland? Who compelled me? Who me bound
100 In spirit that I should no more behold
Kindred or early friend? Whence came the sense
Inspiring me with pity for the race
That once were my own captors? I was born
Noble; my father a *Decurio;*
105 That privilege of birth I have exchanged
(I blush not for it, and I grudge it not)
For benefit of others, bartered so
In Christ, and given over to a race

XII. Coroticus] Extern to mine, all for the glorious hope
110 Ineffable, of that perennial life
Which is in Jesus Christ our Lord; albeit
My own not know me. And 'tis also said,
A prophet in his own land hath no honor.
Belike they think we are not of one Father
115 Nor of one sheep-fold. But the Lord declares
Who is not with me is against me. He
Who with me gathereth not, scattereth.
Ill fares it when one builds and one casts down.
And seek I not the things that are mine own?
120 Not for mine own delight: 'twas God that stirred
That strong solicitude within my heart,
That, of the hunters and the fishermen
Whom He aforetime for these latter days
Had pre-appointed, I too should be one.
125 Men bear me envy: Lord what shall I do?
Men much despise me: Lord, behold, thy sheep
Are torn around me, and are made a prey
Of these aforesaid robbers, by command
Of this, Thy foe, Coroticus, whose mind
130 Is far from charity: who, Christian men
Delivers into hands of Scots and Picts.
Lord, ravening wolves have eaten up thy flock
Which here in Ireland had such fair increase,
Sons of the Scots and daughters of the Kings
135 Now holy monks and handmaidens of Christ,
So many, past my counting. Wherefore thou,
Coroticus, no pleasure in these wrongs
Done to the just hast now, nor ever shalt have,
Now nor till judgment, and the final day
140 Of condemnation to the under world.*
What man of holy life would not abhor
To jest, to feast, with such as these? They fill

* "Of condemnation to the under-world:" *Quam obrem injuriam justorum non te placeat, etiam usque ad inferos non placebit.* "Ad inferos," equivalent to the Irish use of "go brath," to the condemnatory judgment, for ever.

XII. Coroticus] Their houses with the spoils of Christians slain.
They live on rapine. Pity they know not.
145 They drink of poison; and the poisoned cup
They offer to their kindred, even as Eve
Knew not 'twas death she offered Adam. So
Fares it with all the wicked; endless death
And endless pain the fruit of all they do.
150 This custom do the Gaulish Christians use
And Roman. Fit and holy Presbyters
They send the Franks and other extern Heathens,
With money charged, so many thousand coins,
Wherewith to ransom their baptized slaves:
155 *Thou* slayest and sellest into extern lands
Which know not God, my Christians, and dost cast
Christ's baptized virgin members in a stews.
What hope canst thou, so acting, have in God?
Him who thinks with thee, him who to thy crime
160 Gives words approving, God will judge. For me,
I know not how to speak or what words use
Of these dead dear ones of God's family
Thy sword has touched, alas, too close. 'Tis writ,
To weep with them that weep. And writ again,
165 *If ails one member all do ail with it.*
And still the Church bewailing must lament
Those sons and daughters whom as yet the sword
Leaves living, but who live in exile far
Across the sea, where, that the sin may show
170 Fouler by want of shame, the impudent
Sits shameless and abounds; where free-born men
And Christians, sold for money, serve as slaves
To basest, wickedest, apostate Picts.
Therefore with lamentation unrestrained
175 I will uplift my voice; oh dearest brothers,
Loveliest and most beloved, my sons in Christ
Begotten of me, past my power to count,
What shall I do for you, unworthy I,
To succour God or man? *The iniquity*
180 *Of the unjust has overcome us.* They,

XII. Coroticus] Belike, believe not that one baptism
We both have been baptized in; that one God
We both have over us. Belike, think scorn
Of us, that haply Ireland gave us birth.
185 For this do I bewail you, oh my brothers.
Yet, on the other hand, do, in myself,
Rejoice that my poor toils in your behoof
And pilgrim labours were not all in vain,*
Though such unspeakable and horrid crime
190 Has happened during this my ministry.
Thank God, the baptized of you, and believing
Are gone from this place into Paradise.
I see you as ye take your parting flight
To where shall be no night nor any grief,
195 Nor ever death may enter; in whose fields,
Even as young calves let loose, ye shall exult,
And under foot tread down your enemies,
Who dust and ashes 'neath your feet shall lie.
There, with apostles and with prophets, ye
200 Shall reign, and martyrs, and eternal crowns
Enjoy; as He has witnessed, saying thus:
Coming from east and west they shall sit down
With Abraham and Isaac and with Jacob
In kingdom of the Heavens. *Without are dogs,*
205 *Sorcerers, and murderers, and perjurers,*
Whose portion shall be henceforth in the lake
Of ever-burning fire. And not in vain
The apostle tells us: *Where the justest man*
Is hardly safe, where shall the sinner look—
210 *The impious, and transgressor of the Law—*
To find himself? Where shall Coroticus,
With his most wicked rebels against Christ,
Look to be found? Where find them they who now
Bestow the baptized women and the spoils
215 Of orphans on their filthy satellites,
For sake of this world's fleeting sovereignty,

* "In vain:" *in vacuum;* agreeable to the Irish idiom, *dul ar nemnid.*

XII. Coroticus] Which, in a moment, passes as a cloud,
Or smoke that dissipates before the wind.
So shall the sinner and the fraudulent
220 Perish before God's face. But they, the just,
Shall banquet in the heaven of heavens with Christ,
Judging the nations, and o'er unjust kings
Rule throughout ages without end. Amen.
Before my God and His most holy angels
225 I bear my witness that it shall be so,
Even as my poor Ignorance has said it.
For these are not my words, These are the words
Of God and His apostles and His prophets,
Who never lied, which I here put in Latin.
230 *They who believe are safe. Who not believe*
They shall be damned. The voice that speaks is God's.
I now beseech His servant, whosoe'er
Shall set him forth to be the carrier
Of these my letters, that he suffer none
235 Abstract them privily, but have them read
Before all peoples publicly, yea, read
In presence of Coroticus himself.
May God inspire them that they think at length
Of Him, and even late although it be,
240 Repent them of the wickedness they 've done.
Manslayers of their brethren in the Lord
They have been. May they yet repent, and free
Their captive baptized women; so that yet
They may themselves deserve to live in God,
245 And have eternal safety. Now be peace
To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

XIII. This document advances us no further in the inquiry as to Patrick's place of origin than by its suggestion (xii. 19–25), that the ruler of that district, wherever situate, was Coroticus (*post*, xxxii.), and that Coroticus's soldiers, professing Christians, were Roman citizens of Patrick's own municipality there, and associates of the Picts and Scots, an indication pointing to some part of Northern insular Britain. Its contribution to Patrick's personal history is also scanty. In it (*ib.* 2) he alleges himself to be constituted bishop in Ireland; and the Epistle, denouncing the minor excommunication, is in itself an act of episcopal jurisdiction. In the exercise of his functions he intrudes on no other man's right (*ib.* 55–8), while he intimates (*ib.* 97–101) that his mission was undertaken under Divine compulsion, and that, since going forth on it, he had never again beheld the faces of his family or friends. On the question of epoch the *Coroticus* furnishes ground for wider speculation. The reference to "Apostate" Picts (*ib.* 25, 173) will, *prima facie*, strike most readers as indicating a date subsequent to the conversion of the Southern Picts by Ninian of Whiterne, about A.D. 412, the conversion of the Northern Picts by Columba in the sixth century being clearly too late, and any earlier Christianization of Scotland, rightly or wrongly, discredited. It is certain, however, that monuments of an earlier date than either Ninian or Columba, laying claim to a Christian origin, exist in Pictland, and it will be well not to allow the possibility of there having been apostate Picts before the mission of Ninian in North Britain to be excluded from our consideration; especially as the context of the Epistle is not to be reconciled without difficulty to a post-Ninianite epoch. For, certainly, municipal institutions and the presence of a Christian Roman soldiery (*ib.* 20–1) are features more likely to be found in Northern Britian before the withdrawal of the legions and general flight of the Romans in the early part of the fifth century. To the same effect is the passage in which, reproaching Coroticus with selling fellow Christians into slavery, Patrick contrasts his conduct with that of the Christians of Gaul and Rome (*ib.* 150–56) who bestowed their treasures in redeeming baptized captives from the Franks and outside Gentiles. The meaning appears to include the Franks among the other

"exteras gentes," which would look to a period prior to their removal from the right bank of the Rhine and settlement in Belgic Gaul about A.D. 428, and indeed prior to the disruption of the Romano-Gaulish civilization, by the great inroad of the barbarians about A.D. 407.

XIV. The mission of Palladius, Archdeacon of Auxerre, as first bishop to the Irish Christians by Pope Celestine in A.D. 431, rests on the cotemporaneous authority of Prosper of Aquitaine, and has never been denied or doubted. If the writer of the *Confessio* and *Coroticus* succeeded him, these Epistles, penned after probably thirty years from his arrival (viii. 98, xii. 33–4), would belong to the latter end of the fifth century, and all the last-mentioned inferences as to epoch, however probably flowing from them, should be set aside. Before determining on that alternative, it will be well to enter on an examination of the other evidences.

XV. These Secondary Evidences consist of the seven Lives published by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, and of the Collections in the Book of Armagh not accessible to him, supplemented by the valuable matter lately restored to them from the Royal Library of Brussels by the Rev. Edward Hogan in his "Documenta de S^co^. Patricio" (*post*, xxvi.). There are other Lives in Irish Manuscripts, but they do not appear to add anything pertinent to this inquiry.

XVI. In marshalling the Lives, Colgan has given the first place to the Irish Hymn or metrical legend ascribed to Patrick's cotemporary, Fiacc, bishop of Sletty. In the arrangement of the others he has been influenced by this consideration, that he finds in them expressions to the effect that such a one "is" or "inhabits" in such a church, being a person of known date in history. Consequently, he takes these Lives to have been compiled while the persons in question were still living. But this is now recognized as a misapprehension of the expression "is," which in Irish hagiography means no more than that the relics of such a one are there preserved, or his memory there venerated. For example, in the second of Colgan's Lives the expression is used regarding bishop Loarne of Bright in the county of Down: "Civitatula est quæ dicitur *Imreathan*, ubi est Episcopus *Loarne* qui ausus est increpare Patricium tenentem manum pueri ludentis

juxta ecclesiam suam" (Vit. II.ª c. xxxvii.). The story, as more fully told in the Vita. IV.ª c. xxxvii., shows the idea of the kind of presence after death, thought, in these times, to be continued in the persons of buried saints. The boy's hoop with which he had been playing near the grave of St. Patrick (Bright is not far from Saul, where the incident seems to have happened) had fallen down through a chink into the interior of the grave. The boy, having put in his hand to recover his plaything, was unable to withdraw it; on which bishop Loarne, being sent for, attended, and addressed these words to Patrick: "Cur, senior, manum innocentis tenes?"

XVII. This kind of indication affording no criterion, it will now be inquired whether Colgan's arrangement may not be supported on some other ground. One group, comprising the three last Lives, Five, Six, Seven, is easily separable as bearing internal evidence of times later than the ninth century. There remain Lives One, Two, Three, and Four, to which may be added the Collections in the Book of Armagh as now supplemented by the matter brought to light at Brussels. These Collections refer themselves to certain dates in the seventh century. Tirechan, the author of one set of them, states that he took his matter from the oral instruction or from the book of his teacher, Bishop Ultan of Ardbraccan, who died A. D. 656. Muirchu Maccu Machthine, the author of the imperfect Life constituting another part, professes to write at the dictation or by the command of his patron, bishop Aed of Sletty, who died A. D. 698. Both profess to ground their relations on already existing material written and traditionary. Muirchu, in a preface to his work, intimates that many had already endeavoured to compile the *Acta* of Patrick, and that there was at least one "Life" of the saint then in existence; but in excusing his own imperfect style, seems to claim the merit of originality in his composition. Tirechan, in addition to the book of Bishop Ultan, refers also to a "Commemoratio" or personal memoir which he ascribes to Patrick himself.

XVIII. These circumstances invest the Patrician Collections in the Book of Armagh with distinctive importance, and, in the absence of date-indications from the other pieces, give them the character of a standard by comparison with which the relative priorities of all may be approximately

estimated. This may be done in a manner sufficiently discriminative for the purposes of the present inquiry, by the application of some principles grounded on common experience. It may be laid down as matter generally observed in compositions of this kind.

First. That as between a shorter and a longer biography of the same person, the longer may be presumed to be the more recent; which presumption, in biographies of saints, is strengthened where the disparity is caused by the introduction of additional *Mirabilia.*

Secondly. That when the same matter *verbatim* is found in several pieces on the same subject, continuously in one, but discontinuously and with interspersed matter, *ejusdem generis*, in others, there is a presumption that the latter is copied from the former; especially where the author of the continuous matter claims originality for his composition, and where faults or obscurities of expression in the professing original are found corrected or avoided in the duplicate.

XIX. A careful examination of the Lives Two, Three, and Four, shows that, while each in length greatly exceeds the *Muirchu*, this excess is in a large degree made up of *Mirabilia;* that almost the whole text of *Muirchu*, in many instances chapter for chapter and word for word, interspersed with cognate matter which a copyist would not be likely to omit, exists in these Lives respectively; and that, in them, defects and obscurities of expression of *Muirchu* are rectified or avoided. For these reasons the "Colgan," Lives Two, Three, and Four, will be regarded as *puisne* in date of composition and authority to *Muirchu* as it to *Tirechan*, subject however to this reservation, that their sources may be of an equal or greater antiquity.

XX. But the Hymn of Fiacc does not afford any presumption of the same kind. It nowhere borrows the language of the other Lives. They add to and improve on the matter found in it. It gives one alias to Patrick, *Succat.* They add *Cothraige* and *Magonius.* It represents Patrick as obtaining, in compensation for not being buried, as he wished, at Armagh, two special privileges, namely, that his favorite Hymn should be a *lorica* for those who should sing it, and that, at the Last Day, all the Irish should go up with him to Judgment. To this the Lives add two

further prerogatives; and the *Muirchu* improves on that respecting the Last Day by making Patrick himself the Judge of the Irish on that occasion.

XXI. A probable priority among these Secondary Evidences may therefore be assigned to the *Fiacc* already put first in his series by Colgan. In the midst of much that is vague and trivial it contains apparently the germs from which most of what has since been affirmed respecting Patrick's epoch, cotemporaries, and personal history immediately before his arrival as a missionary in Ireland, appears to have grown up. In point of literary interest it is bald and jejune, like most bardic works of its class. We experience, indeed, a great change in leaving the natural effusions of Patrick himself for the vague and evasive generalities of his commemorator. The piece is in Irish, a very archaic example of the language, and is composed in rhymed verse. The necessities of the rythm lead to the employment of *chevilles* or phrases thrown in as metrical make-weights; but some of these, such "as histories relate", "as lines tell us", indicate that written material then existed, and that the writer did not, as Colgan was inclined to believe, relate cotemporaneous events. Indeed nothing in literary criticism can be clearer than that this piece was written some considerable time after the desertion of Tara, an event twice referred to in it (xxii. 10, 22), which took place about A. D. 565. It may, if I have given it its proper priority, have been composed at any time during the period which elapsed after Tara had become "desert and silent," and before the middle of the seventh century, when Tirechan and Muirchu began the amplifications, continued with increasing proportions by the writers of the remaining Lives. As first of the evidences by which the purport of the original documents has been enlarged and modified to the great extent which will be presently disclosed, it ought not to be put forward at any disadvantage in form or substance as compared with them. It is therefore also given in its entirety, and with such aids to the reader in taking in its general tenor as a metrical version may confer. In this, the text and translation printed by Stokes in his "Goidelica," have been followed.

XXII. THE FIACC METRICAL LIFE.

(*After A.D. 565.*)

1.

Born in Nemthur was Patrick, as histories tell us.
At his age of sixteen he was brought under sorrow.

2.

His name at first, *Succat;* for his sire's, understand ye
'Twas *Calphurn mac Otid*, sprung from deacon *Odisse.*

3.

Six years in hard thraldom, man's victuals he ate not;
Four masters *Cothraige* obeyed in their households.

4.

Spake Victor to *Milchu's* thrall, "Over sea hie thee."
Where he planted his feet, on the rock rest their imprints.

5.

Over all the Alp mountains, over sea did he travel,
Till he tarried with *German*, in the south, in south Letha.*

6.

In the Terrene sea islands he tarried, he pondered,
At reading the Canon, at study with *German.*

7.

To Erin he came by his Angel admonished,
In manifold visions to haste his returning.

8.

'Twas a good day for Erin the coming of Patrick;
He heard the young children from Foclath wood calling.

* "Letha:" used generally for the continent of Europe, as Armorican Letha, Letha of Rome. The south of Gaul would appear to be here intended as comprising the Rhone delta and its islands (*post*, XXV.).

XXII. Life One. Fiacc]

9.

They prayed to the holy one, that he would come to them,*
Come, and conduct them to life everlasting.

10.

For thus had their prophets foretold them the coming
Of a new time of peace would endure after Tara

11.

Lay desert and silent. The druids of *Laery*
Had told of his coming, had told of the Kingdom.

12.

Holy life led he still, strong expeller of evil,
Therefor do his merits shine high o'er the Nations.

13.

The Hymns and Apocalypse and the Three Fifties
Sang he daily: baptizing, and praising God always.

14.

Nor allowed he the cold winter weather him hinder
From his nights in the water-pools; preaching, the daytime.

15.

In Slán well, by Boirche, he'd sing psalms a hundred
Ev'ry night in his suit to the High King of Angels,

16.

And would then take his sleep, on the bare rock reposing,
In his wet-dripping frock, with a stone for his pillow.

17.

He preached the glad Gospel; he wrought many marvels;
He healed halt and leper; he raised the dead living.

* "Come to them:" till recently read as "They prayed that the holy one, traversing Letha, would come," &c. The more approved reading is now taken to be *lethu* = *cum illis.*

XXII. Life One. Fiacc]

18.

To the *Scoti* he preached it, with manifold labours,*
That they all might, at doomsday, attend round their Patron;

19.

Emer's sons, sons of *Erimon*, all whom the Devil
Had theretofore shut in his great pit infernal,

20.

Till came their Apostle—as a swift wind his wending—
Preaching peace from Christ's cross, sixty years, to the *Feni*.

21.

There was darkness o'er Erin, they adored things of Faery;
They believed not the truth of the Trinity Godhead.

22.

In Armagh is Headship; long since life was in Emain;
A great church is Down; Tara—woe's me—a desert.

23.

When Patrick first sickened, he'd have fain gone to Macha;
By day came the Angel thereon to entreat him.

24.

He came south to Victor—it was he gave the summons—
The bush burned unburnt whereout Victor bespoke him,

25.

Saying "Headship to Macha" for which to Christ glory—
"But thou must to heaven, which grants thy petition,

26.

"That the hymn thou hast chosen shall be breast-plate of safety
To all who, at Doom, shall come round thee to judgment."

* "With manifold labours:" till recently read as "After toiling through Letha."

XXII. Life One. Fiacc]

27.

He who gave him Communion, who survived him, was Tassach.
He had said he would come: and his words were accomplished.

28.

Night's shade set aside, there was light around unfading,
To a year's end was radiance, was one continual daylight.

29.

In the fight the son of Nun fought against them of Canaan,
When the sun stood still on Gibeon, as histories tell us,

30.

Though Joshua stayed the sun till the wicked were slaughtered,
More fitting was his light at death of holy Patrick.

31.

The clerks of Erin flocked to attend his funeral office.
The quiring angel's strain made them all sink down in slumber.

32.

The soul from Patrick's body, toil-worn, at last departed;
God's angels all the night sang around it unceasing.

33.

When Patrick departed, he went to the other Patrick,
And together they ascended to Jesus the Son of Mary.

34.

Humble Patrick, unblemished, much good did he accomplish
In his service with Mary's Son, since first born in Nemthur.

XXIII. The *Fiacc* supplies the particular name of Patrick's birthplace, Nemthur, but affords no further clue to its local situation. It also for the first time introduces the name of Milchu, Patrick's bondmaster, and purports to give some account of Patrick's career after his escape from slavery and before entering on his Irish mission. Some time must have been spent by him in necessary clerical preparation; and this interval, passed over in the *Confessio*, is here accounted for by probationary studies pursued in the South of Europe under the tuition of Germanus, meaning, no doubt, the celebrated bishop of Auxerre of that name (xxii. 5, 6). During this period, apparently, Patrick is represented as having his Call from the children of Focluth (*ib.* 8, 9), an incident which, in the *Confessio*, is put at the home of his family in Britain (viii. 262–72); and this discrepancy cannot but detract from the credit of the *Fiacc* (11) and of the remaining authorities following it in this particular. It ascertains very clearly the epoch of the Irish mission of the Patrick it commemorates, which, in common with all the Lives, it represents as having taken place in the time of Leoghaire, son of Neil, A. D. 428–464. Its most noteworthy statement, however, is that intimating a plurality of Patricks (*ib.* 33), which shows that at least two personages of eminent sanctity were then recognised as having borne the name. To the evidences that Patricius was a title of office (Loc. Pat. 414), I add one example, the signature to the acts of the Council of Orange, A.D. 529, of P. M. F. Liberius V. C. et illustris præfectus prætorii Galliarum atque Patricius (Usher, 6, p. 26).

XXIV. The *Fiacc* has a Gloss and Scholium (*post*, xli.) the places of which, in order of date and authority, have not been determined. They appear to be subsequent to the Armagh Collections, and also to some of the 'Colgan' Lives, inasmuch as identical matter of the Muirchu Life is found dispersed in the Scholium; and both Scholium and Gloss explain Nemthur as another name for Ailclyde, whereas the authors of Lives Two and Three repeat the Nemthur of *Fiacc*, without any attempt at identification. In this view the Armagh Collections come next in order after the text of the *Fiacc*, while the Gloss and Scholium of the latter fall into some place after Life Three.

XXV. What are known as the Annotations of Tirechan in the Book of

Armagh are, as has been seen (*sup.* xvii.), presumably older than the Life by Muirchu; and will first be noticed for some light they may possibly throw on the subject of there having been more Patricks than one (*sup.* xxiii.). "I have found," he says (Hog. Doc. de S^co^. P. 57), "in Bishop Ultan's book four names for Patrick, that is, *Magon*, or the Renowned; *Succat*, who is Patrick—*qui est Patricius*—and *Cothirthiacus*, because he served in four households of the Magi." Bringing Patrick at once to the field of his missionary employment, Tirechan affords no information as to his place of origin. His condensed introductory chapter may be regarded as a summary of the beliefs respecting the pre-missionary life of Patrick which were in current acceptance in Ireland about the middle of the seventh century. Having related the story of his captivity in the service of Milchu, in his first chapter, he thus proceeds:—

"Then, however, the Angel of the Lord visited him in his dreams, on the heights of Skirte (Skirry), near to Sliebh Miss. And this was the Angel's last command: 'Behold, thy ship is ready: arise and journey (*ambula*);' and he (the Angel) departed from him up to heaven; and he arose and journeyed (*ambulavit*) according to the command of the Lord's Angel, Victor by name. In his seventeenth year was he captured, led away, and sold into Ireland: in his twenty-second year it was vouchsafed to him to leave his toils with the Magi. Seven other years he journeyed (*ambulavit*), and sailed the seas (*in fluctibus*), in plains and mountain-valleys, throughout Gaul and all Italy, and in the islands which are in the Terrene Sea, as he himself has said in his narrative (*commemoratio*) of his labours. And he was thirty years in one of these islands, which is called *Aralanensis*, as Bishop Ultan testified to me. But all that happened to him you may find written in the distinct history of him. These [matters which I am now about to relate] are his latest *mirabilia*, concluded and happily accomplished (*finita atque feliciter facta*) in the fifth year of the reign (*in V. regni anno*) of Loigire Mac Neill" (Hog. Doc. 57, c. 1).

He then relates the missionary *acta* of Patrick, extending over seventy-two years (c. 53), which, if they were finished at the time stated, would throw back his advent to A. D. 359. The other relevant passage is from his 56th chapter (Hog. Doc. 89):

"In the thirteenth year of the Emperor Theodosius, Patrick is sent [as] Bishop, for the instruction (*ad doctrinam*) of the Scoti, by Bishop Celestine, Pope of Rome: which

Celestine was forty-seventh Bishop from the Apostle Peter in Rome city. Paladius is first sent [as] Bishop, who was called Patrick for his other name (*sup.* xxiii.; *post*, xlviii.), who suffered martyrdom amongst the Scoti, as holy men of old testify. Then the Second Patrick is sent by the Angel of God, Victor by name, and by Pope Celestine; through whom all Ireland believed, who gave baptism to almost all of it. . . . All which things, in God accomplished, have been gathered together by the most skilful of our ancients."

There are four remarkable passages connecting some Patrick with a precedent Christian institution in Ireland in Tirechan. Coming to Coleraine, after crossing the river Bann, on his return from his visitation of Connaught, Patrick imparts his blessing to that place, "in quo fuit episcopus" (Hog. Doc. 86). In Find Moy of Hy Maine, Patrick finds the cross which the Christian mother had planted by mistake over the sepulchre of the pagan buried beside her son (Hog. Doc., 83). In Tir Erril he discovers the altar (Hog. Doc., 69) which, the Tripartite explains, lay with its glass chalices hidden in a cave in Dumagraid. At Achadgower, in Mayo, there came to him a pious maiden, Mathona, a nun, sister, or relative of Benignus, who assisted at the episcopal ordination of her brother Senach. Senach appears to have made certain stipulations regarding his orders (Hog. Doc., 80; Hennessy, *apud* Cus.), and the result is, in the language of Tirechan, "missam Patricii acceperunt," all which tend to favour the inference that, besides the author of the *Confessio*, some other and later Patrick has been commemorated in the Lives.

XXVI. The *Muirchu* Life, since the discovery of the Brussels manuscript, which makes up its chapters missing from the Book of Armagh, may now be considered as a document of greater importance than even the Annotations of Tirechan. A few years ago it became known that a vellum manuscript Life of Patrick existed in the Royal Library at Brussels which appeared to correspond with the *Muirchu* Life, so far as it is found in the Book of Armagh. We should not have had this valuable identification of the perfect twelfth century copy with the imperfect ninth century transcript of this seventh century compilation, if our late brother Academician, Sir William Betham, had not, in what must now be deemed a happy moment, ventured on the editing, however imperfectly, of the Book of Armagh

(*Antiquarian Researches*, Dublin). He put this venerable record, so far as it relates to St. Patrick, substantially before the world, and enabled the learned men who at Brussels continue the work of the Bollandi Fratres, to recognise the identity of the Life in their Royal Library with the Life by Muirchu in the Armagh Codex in Trinity College Library here. This has led to a most careful comparison of the two texts by the Rev. Edward Hogan, S. J., to whom we are also indebted for the "Documenta de Sancto Palricio" above referred to, printed at Brussels in 1884. Dr. Whitley Stokes had already, in his *Goidelica*, translated the Irish passages, in which the imperfection of Sir William Betham's Essay chiefly betrayed itself. Mr. Hogan extends his work to all the contents of this part of the Codex, both Latin and Irish, and, in the first six chapters of the *Muirchu* Life, supplies us with the matter which, undoubtedly, at one time, existed on the folio now missing from our own Book.

XXVII. In the newly-acquired part of the Life, Muirchu, as regards Patrick's place of nativity, grounds himself on the *Confessio* with an addition which may help towards the better ascertainment of the site. The scribe presents the *Bannave Taberniæ* of the *Confessio* in the dislocated form *Ban navem thabur indecha*, where the added *decha* may recall the Dakenclud of the Dunbarton terminus of Græme's Dyke, as described by John Major (Hist. Maj. Brit. l. i. ci.). He then proceeds with other matter equally remarkable, "quem vicum constanter, indubitanterque comperimus esse *ventre*." Here may be recognised the source of Probus's statement in Life Five of the Trias, "quem vicum constanter indubitanterque comperimus esse *Neutriæ* provinciam," which has caused so many fine intelligences, in search of Patrick's birthplace, to cross the English Channel into the Gaulish province of *Neustria*. Every one acquainted with common paleographic difficulties knows how often it occurs that *u* and *n* have been mistaken for one another. Thus Dunbarton, in the old Welsh dialogue between Taliesin and Merlin (Skene F. B.), appears as Neutur. In the Myvirian Archæology, the editor has read it Nentur. In both shapes it seems to be the equivalent of Fiacc's *Nemthor*, whatever that name may originally have been.

XXVIII. In these recovered chapters, Muirchu, following the *Confessio*, conducts Patrick from captivity to his family in Britain, and plainly

declares that, in his view, this was insular Britain, by bringing him thence to Gaul over sea, "transnavigato mari dextro Britannico."

XXIX. The Brussels complemental matter supplies another incident in the *Muirchu* Life, which may be noted as one of the points of later departure from the sequence of events recorded in the *Confessio.* He has a chapter (3) on a second captivity, which, according to his account, Patrick, after his escape to Britain, suffered "ab alienigenis." This adventure has been expanded by one of the subsequent Life writers (*post*, xlii.) into a sea voyage from the Boyne to Bordeaux, with a twenty-eight days' journey through French desert (viii. 255*n.*), conducting Patrick to his kinsman St. Martin of Tours. The whole appears to be a parasitic growth, and to depend from that one point in the story of the *Confessio* where Patrick uses the words, "et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi." At this point there is a hiatus in the Book of Armagh. Patrick having described his nightmare in the desert, and stated what seems to have been his belief that it was Christ who, within him, made use of his, Patrick's, voice to exclaim "Helias," proceeds to justify that belief from Scripture, "*Sicut in euangelio dixit dominus non uos estis,*" followed by the unconnected words, "*multos adhuc capturam dedi.*" The Bodleian and other texts supply what is here plainly wanting, namely, "*qui loquimini, sed spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis. Et iterum post annos,*" which complete the sense. This has been taken as if Patrick were here writing in reference to a bodily captivity. But they who, following Muirchu, so understood the texts, have overlooked the "adhuc," which, in its context, imports a captivity still continuing. Patrick certainly was not in bodily bondage when he wrote the *Confessio;* whence it must be concluded that his words, if they be not scriptural quotation, are necessarily to be understood as of a spiritual captivity, such as that of "aged Paul now also a prisoner of the Lord." Indeed the expression "et iterum" is so often used in the *Confessio* as introductory of scriptural citation when a further text is vouched in support of a preceding one, that, if the words in question could be at all adapted to the language of the Epistle to Philemon, such would be a welcome version of the passage. But they can only by a great stretch of adaptation be so considered; and the

incurring of a spiritual bondage remains as the preferable construction. It was the first occasion on which he had experienced what he conceived to be the presence of an indwelling coercer of his will, to obedience to whose promptings all his subsequent life was to be conformed; and this probably will be received as the meaning conveyed in "eâ nocte primâ." That he believed himself to be subjected to this kind of bondage, even up to the time of his death, was the tradition amongst the writers of the Lives. "When Patrick first sickened, he had fain lain in Macha" (xxii. 23), but such was not the divine will. "Alas," he says to Victor, who tells him this request was denied, "my captivity is even to the end; since I cannot so much as choose for myself the place of my burial" (Vita 3ª, c. 88).

XXX. This part of the *Confessio*, therefore, it may be affirmed gives no support to the theory of more than one captivity in the ordinary sense of the word, and is quite consistent with the completion of Patrick's whole journey within the predicted two months, when, after the six years of his detention in Ireland—comparatively few as contrasted with the life-long duration of his other kind of captivity—he found himself again at home in Britain, agreeably to the first prediction, which, it may be observed, all the other interpretations necessarily contradict, "*cito* iturus ad patriam vestram et terram."

XXXI. Having described Patrick's return to his family, as in the *Confessio*, Muirchu, in the fifth and sixth chapters of the new matter supplied to us by these *Complementa*, passes into a condensed and somewhat abrupt continuation of the narrative:—

"And many visions were there shown him. And he was of the age of thirty years, as the apostle says (et cetera), to (the measure of) the fulness of Christ, (when) going forth to the Apostolic seat, to visit and honor (it) even as the head of all the Churches of the whole world, in order that, understanding already the divine and sacred mysteries whereto God had called him, he should learn, understand, fulfil, preach, and confer the divine favor on the extern nations, converting them to the faith of Christ."

From which it may be collected that, in Muirchu's view, Patrick had at this time acquired the knowledge of his ecclesiastical office, but before

entering on it desired to testify his respect to the Holy See, and, it may be inferred, to obtain its sanction for his undertaking:—

"Having therefore sailed across the southern sea of Britain, in order to proceed across the Gaulish Alps by the accepted (the ordinary?) route (*accepto itinere*), at their extremity, which he had in his heart proposed to take, he found a certain most holy prince bishop and high duke at Alsiodor (Auxerre) city, with whom (he remained in study)," &c. "And, having there spent a long time as, forty years according to some, thirty according to others, his old and right trusty (angel) Victorious by name, who [here the Armagh text begins] had predicted to him in Ireland all things before they came to pass, visited him with frequent visions, telling him the time was now arrived when he should come (hither) and, with the net of the evangel, fish for those rude and savage peoples for whose instruction God had destined him; and there it was said to him in a vision, *The sons and daughters of the Wood of Focluth call thee*," &c.

Where the growing disregard of the authority of the *Confessio* may be observed in the transfer of the place of his call from his home in Britain to Auxerre in Gaul.

Then follows, in both texts, the incident of the death of Palladius, leading to Patrick's proceeding at once on his Irish mission, without waiting to complete his intended journey to Rome. The statement of Palladius' mission is substantially as above given by Tirechan (xxv.), save that Pope Celestine does not appear in it. Patrick, on Victor's summons, sets out on his "inceptum iter." Whether this was for Rome or for Ireland is not stated. On his way he receives intelligence of the death of Palladius at a place the situation of which has given rise to much speculation. It is doubtfully called *Ebmoria* in the Armagh, and distinctly *Curbia* in the Brussels, Codex. If the "inceptum iter" were for Ireland, *Curbia* would seem the better reading, for Corbie is on the route northward from Auxerre. If for Rome, the site of *Ebmoria* should be looked for on the "acceptum iter" by the extremity of the Gaulish Alps. These, in Irish geography, are the mountain chains of Auvergne and Languedoc, in which the Loire has its sources. At their eastern extremity, "ad extremum," the valley of the Rhone gives access to the Terrene or Mediterranean Sea. Here, in the delta of the Rhone, is the island of Arles (*Arelato*), to which reference is found above in

Tirechan, under the name Aralanensis (xxv.), but which has its true name Arelatensis in the Fourth Life (*post*, xxxix.), and being also known as the Insula Cameracenis, has been satisfactorily identified by Colgan with the modern Camargue. A British connexion had been established at Arles by the *pseudo* Emperor Constantine, about 407, if it did not exist before, and there will be nothing locally improbable in voyages from thence to Italy ascribed to Patrick in other Lives. Wherever the disciples with news of Palladius' death met Patrick, his further proceedings, according to Muirchu, were taken with great promptitude.

"Patrick and those who were with him changing their route, turned aside (*declinaverunt iter*) to a certain wondrous man and chief bishop, Amathorex by name, living in a neighbouring place, and there the holy Patrick, knowing what would befall, received the episcopal grade from the holy bishop Mathorex. Auxilius also was ordained, and (so were) Isernine, and others of lower degree, on the same day as holy Patrick. Then the venerable traveller, &c., took ship and reached Britain, and omitting all occasions of delay, save the common requirements of the road, for no man can seek the Lord by dallying, with all speed and a favouring wind crosses over sea."

XXXII. The *Muirchu* Life is divided into chapters. A short index to the headings of the several chapters is found in both copies. One of these, No. 28, is conversant with the Coroticus incident (*sup.* xiii.). The text of the chapter. missing from the Armagh Codex, is present in the Brussels copy. It makes *Corictic* (*Coirthech* in Lib. Arm.) a British king, and the entitlement of the chapter in both examples is "De conflictu Patricii adversum *Coirthech* regem *Aloo*." Alo-clotha is the form in which Ailclyde is presented in the older Irish annals, as *Alofind* for Elphin in the Book of Armagh. There is no other royal seat in insular or continental Britain compounded in *Ail* but Ailclyde. It is, therefore, matter of cogency to conclude that, in the seventh century, the Coroticus of Patrick's epistle was regarded as king of Ailclyde the capital of the kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons. In the Welsh additions to the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius is a list of these Strathclyde kings, including the name of *Ceretic guledec*, that is, *Dux* or *Imperator*, the native designation given to various British *reguli* who from time to time usurped the imperial purple. The document is re-

ferred to A.D. 977 (Skene, An. P. & S. xcv. 15). It purports to trace the pedigree of Run Map Artgal through fifteen generations, to *Ceretic guledec*. Run was reigning in Alclyde A. D. 878, which, at thirty years to the generation, would put the middle age of *Ceretic* about A. D 428. Other computations of the same kind, grounded on the dates of intermediate names in the list, would bring him down to A. D. 470 or 480, in full agreement with the accepted Patrician chronology. This list, however, is an instructive example of the uncertainty attending the thirty years canon, when applied to any but long and well-authenticated lines of descent. Among other issue of Ceretic, set forth in it, are Rydderch Hael and his father Tudwal Tutclud, both mentioned by Adamnan, and of known historic dates. Ridderch, fifth in descent, reigning A.D. 573, would put Ceretic, the great-great-grandfather about A. D. 423. Tudwal, a generation nearer, is made by the author of the Life of Ninian cotemporary with a Ninian, who must be taken as the second of the name, and who flourished at Whiterne about A. D. 520 (Usher, 6, 585). He is also made by the author of the Life of Kentigern, cotemporary with Darerca, the supposed sister of St. Patrick, who died A. D. 518 (*ib.* 584). If Tudwal were reigning at any time so shortly after the death of Patrick, commonly assigned to A. D. 493, Ceretic, his great-grandfather, could hardly have been the reigning cotemporary of the same Patrick. Nor do the difficulties arising on the epoch of Coroticus stop here. There is another copy of the Run pedigree, compiled about A. D. 1300 (Sk. F. B. 167), amongst the Hengwrt Manuscripts. In this, while the generation numbers are the same, the names between the *Guledec* and Tudwal differ, suggesting the loss of one or more generations, while the *Guledec* is named Maxen, as if *Ceretic* were, *alio nomine*, *Maxen Wledeg*, or that Maximus raised by the Britons to the Imperial rank, who reigned A. D. 383–9. In reference to him, there is a statement by Johannes Major, not irrelevant to this enquiry, though not vouched for by any other authority. Having described the last constructed Roman wall between Abercornie and Dakenclud, and stated that it ran 8000 paces further to the north than the old line of Agricola, he goes on to say, regarding the additional land so gained, "hanc terram Maximus dux suo regno adjecit" (Hist. Maj. Brit. l. 1, c. 1).

On these data the epoch of Coroticus, and of the Patrick from whom he received the epistle, will appear earlier or later, according as the mind of the reader may be swayed in either direction by the other evidences.

XXXIII. The Book of Armagh contains matter supplemental to the compilations of Tirechan. The Codex here has the appearance of a commonplace book of undigested material, partly in Latin and partly in Irish. In that portion which is in the Irish language occurs an account of the proceedings of Isernine, above referred to (xxxi.). He is here identified with an Irish bishop, Idh, and represented as engaged in a proceeding not easily to be reconciled with the statement of his having been the cotemporary of Germanus. Patrick and he had sailed by different routes for the same destination. Patrick had arrived by way of a port on the eastern, Isernine by one on the southern, coast. Isernine is represented as visiting, first, his own kindred of the Cothraige, a small tribe in the present county of Carlow. Thence he proceeds into the southern borders of Wicklow, where he converts and baptizes the seven sons of Cathbod. This innovation, it is represented, was displeasing to the then king of Leinster, namely Enna Cennsalagh, who proscribed the converts. They, accompained by Isernine, went into exile in another part of the country, where Patrick subsequently joined them, and by his interest with Crimthan, son of Enna, obtained their pardon. Enna Cennsalagh was a personage having a well-defined place in Irish history. He overthrew the monarch Eochaid Muimedon at the battle of Cruachan Clænta, about A.D. 358. He appears to have been then a man of many exploits, and is said (O'Curry, 493) to have warred against the Ulster kingdom at or before the destruction of Emania. The statement respecting him in the Book of Leinster is that he was cotemporary of Enna Nia, father of the first Dunlang king of Leinster, and great-great-grandfather of that second Dunlang, whose sons Iollan and Ailill Patrick is stated in the Lives to have baptized at Naas: Enna Gensel*ach* da*n* agus Enna Nia comamser doib andís *unde* lugair d*ixit*. Mair drecuin drecuin da Enna húi nathaig nuadat nascad giallu gaedel necht. "The same time then for both Enna Genselach and Enna Nia, as Lugair said: Great dragons of dragons are the two Ennas, descendants of the wounding hostage-binder of

the Gael, Nuadu Necht" (L.L. 316*b*). He was fourth in descent from Cathir Mor, whose death is put, at latest, in A.D. 177, and must apparently have been long past middle age when the conversion of the sons of Cathbod took place. If we can credit our Irish pedigrees, the sons of Cathbod were eighth in descent from Cucorb king of Leinster (Loc. Pat. tab. 1), whose death is put at A.D. 119. This would make their probable period A.D. 360. With all allowances for lives of exceptional duration, we cannot bring down the actors in these affairs to the post-Palladian period without excessive straining of probabilities and many serious misgivings.

XXXIV. These Additions further throw light on some obscurities respecting the epoch of Fiacc, nephew of Dubtach Maccu Lugair, ordained bishop by Patrick on his journey into Enna's territory of Hy Kinsela. In c. 51 of Tirechan (Hog. Doc. 88) Patrick, after his ordination of Fiacc, on his way to Munster, is represented as also baptizing the sons of Dunlang, meaning, in the common acceptance of the Life-writers, the above mentioned Iollan and Ailill, the sons of his convert Dunlang the second, king of Leinster, about A.D. 450. That it was the elder Dunlang, however, who is here referred to by Tirechan, may be thought probable from the fact that he had at least seven sons, which is not reported of his great-grandson Dunlang the second; and that the Irish-Latin additions to Tirechan, after the statement respecting the sons of Cathbod (*supra*) go on to say, "ranic Patraic iarsuidiu (Patrick came afterwards) et crediderunt sibi (vii) filii Dunlangi" (Hog. Doc. 103), implying very persuasively that the ordination of Fiacc, and the conversions of the sons of Cathbod and of Dunlang, were nearly contemporaneous. Fiacc, after his ordination, remained (*congabt*) at his first church at Minbeg, on the borders of Wicklow and Carlow, until sixty of his community died (*contorchartar*) there. An angel afterwards commanded him to remove to Sletty, on the opposite side of the Barrow, where his resurrection was to be. Fiacc would not, unless Patrick in person should come to lay out his new church, which Patrick afterwards did (Hog. Doc. 107, 8). This has the appearance of a translation of relics, after Fiacc's remains had been interred in Minbig for a lengthened period. One of the traditions respecting him and his son Fiachra purports

so to represent the fact. Colgan (Tr. Th. 185, *n.* 37) cites this from the Calendar of Cashel, "Fiacrius filius Fiachi, et ambo quiescunt in Minbeg;" repeated by Cathal Maguire in his Martyrology, "Fiacrius filius est Fiaci, et est (*sup.* xvi) cum eo simul in Minbeag, nempe in cella parva quæ est in sylva inter Cluain Mor Maedoc et Aghad Abhail, in qua et sanctus Fiacus jacet" (Loc. Pat. 197). Great difficulty has been experienced in coordinating Fiacc with Patrick and the younger Dunlang; and Todd (Book of Hymns, 292) in making out a late enough date for Fiacc, has been obliged to insert some questionable and several surmised steps in his pedigree.

XXXV. The lives remaining to be examined are the Second to the Seventh inclusive in the Trias, reckoning under the last its duplicate known as the Irish Tripartite. All of them, for the reasons assigned (xx.), are taken as posterior in date of compilation to the *Fiacc*, and to the collections of Tirechan and the Life by Muirchu in the Book of Armagh. As amongst themselves, the only departure from the order given them that I would venture to suggest, would be a transposition of Six and Seven—that is, a postponement of the Life by Jocelyn (A.D. 1182) to the Tripartite, the direct internal evidences of which do not come lower down than A.D. 897 (Hennessy, *apud* Cus., p. 466). These with the Fifth Life, bearing the name of Probus as author, and referable by very pregnant indications to the tenth century (Tr. Th. 61, 2; 64, 38), are the only ones of the series which afford clear evidences of their periods. Two, Three, and Four have been arranged by Colgan in the order of seniority of their supposed authors, Patrick junior, Benignus, and Eleran the Wise; but these early origins, for the reasons above given (*sup.* xvi.), cannot now be sustained, and for the further reasons also premised (*sup.* xix.), must all be postponed in date to the Life by Muirchu. No better sequence, however, irrespective of positive dates, than that given them by Colgan can be suggested, especially as Two and Three appear to ground themselves on Irish originals, and preserve, imbedded in their Latin text, several examples of that kind of fossil material.

XXXVI.—Life Two then follows *Fiacc* in making Nemthor the place of Patrick's birth, but adds nothing express to our knowledge of where *Nemthor* is, beyond what may be inferred from its use of the language of Muirchu in bringing Patrick from the home of his family into Gaul by

crossing the southern British Sea (Tr. Th., 13, c. xxi.); whence its author must be concluded to have supposed the home insular.

It also with the metrical Life attaches itself unconformably to the narrative of the *Confessio* at the point where Patrick is told to take shipping for home, and marks expressly the discrepancy which in the *Fiacc* is only inferential (*sup.* xxii. 4, 5): "Ecce, navis tua parata est, ut peteret (peteres) Italiam, ut ibi per sanctam Scripturam disciplinandus esses" (Tr. Th., 12, c. xvii.). Its staple, like that of all the other remaining Lives, is drawn from Muirchu, prefaced by numerous *mirabilia* of the Infancy, here apparently for the first time introduced, and supplemented by some particulars, also appearing to be here of primary introduction, relating to Patrick's *acta* and cotemporaries. Having related his call (c. xxi.), which, with the *Confessio* it makes in Britain, "cum parentibus suis," it takes up the narrative of Muirchu, and conducts him, as above, across the southern sea of Britain to Germanus, with whom he reads for thirty years "in insula Arelanensi" (c. xxii.), being, doubtless, the Island of Arles above referred to (*sup.* xxxi.). Then, again following Muirchu, it relates the mission of Palladius by Pope Celestine, his failure, and death in *Forddun*, or, as others say, his martyrdom (c. xxiv.). Here also it introduces, apparently for the first time, the name of Nathi filius Garrchon, who, on Palladius' arrival "in fines Lageniensium," offered him some opposition. After which it interposes somewhat abruptly in Muirchu's narrative a short but pregnant chapter (xxv.) in these words:—"Patrick, sent by the same Pope Celestine to Ireland, came to the mouth of a certain river, the *Deac* (*Inbhir Deagadh*, Wicklow). But the aforesaid wicked nobleman, Nathi, who previously had withstood Palladius, opposed the blessed Patrick also and his doctrine. But Sinell, son of Findcath, through the preaching of the holy Patrick, believed in Almighty God, and first amongst the Scots was baptized of holy Patrick, wherefore he (Patrick) bestowed his blessing on him and on his seed." Patrick then, proceding northward into Ulster, makes his first convert Dichu, *Primus Scotorum per Patricum Confessus* (*ib.* c. xxix); and afterwards, returning to Wicklow, is received by the grandson, and gives his blessing to the infant great-grandson, of Sinell.

Two first converts are certainly suggestive of different and successive

missions; and if Dichu be properly placed 63 in his table of descent, Sinell being 59, one must recognize a great difference in time.

XXXVII. Both Nathi and Sinell are well-known names in what is called the Dal Messincorb genealogy, preserved in the Book of Leinster and elsewhere, and lately published from these sources by the Rev. J. F. Shearman (Loc. Pat., Tab. i.). Sinell is, in all the extant examples of this pedigree, eighth in descent from Cucorb king of Leinster. Cucorb's epoch is ascertained by that of Fedlimedh Reactmar king of Ireland, A.D. 113–119, by whom he was slain. His fourth son was Messincorb, amongst whose descendants are found Findcath, Sinell, and Sinell's cotemporary, Nathi. Here it will be well to preserve a judicious observation of Colgan, the truth and appositeness of which all students of these genealogical tables will readily acknowledge. "Nostros historices quando non texunt genealogias, solere sæpè usurpare nomen filii latè, pro nepote, aliove descendente" (Tr. Th., 18, n. 35). For Sinell, in the pedigree, is not son, but great-grandson of Findcath; being son of Conall, son of Cucongelt, son of Findcath, son of Garrchu, son of Fothad, son of Eochaid Lamderg, son of Messincorb, son of Cucorb; and, at the generally accepted rate of thirty years to a generation, should, together with his cotemporary Nathi, if the pedigree be right, be concluded to have flourished about A.D. 360, synchronously with Enna Cennsalagh and the sons of Cathbod, who, it will be rembered, are brought within the first influences of the Patrician mission by the supplementer of Tirechan (*sup.* xxxiii.). All deductions, however, of this kind, are subject to the possibility that steps in the pedigree may have been lost; and Shearman, deeming the post-Palladian date, which he considered the true one, to be irreconcilable with this epoch for Sinell, has felt himself justified in suggesting—"Some generations are wanting between Garrchu, *circa* 200, and Findcath" (Loc. Pat., Tab. i., No. 55). If three generations, indeed, could be so interpolated, Sinell would be brought down to post-Palladian times; but no ground for such an alteration of the text can be suggested save that of conformity to accepted ideas.

XXXVIII.—Life Three adopts the statement and language of Life Two as regards Nemthor and the early *mirabilia.* It follows substantially the story of the *Confessio* up to Patrick's escape, his return to his parents, and

his call by the Voices from Focluth, which it gives in the Irish, *hoch! aillilo fortaich* (c. xx.). It then takes up the thread of Muirchu's relation, and conducts him to St. Germanus, at Auxerre. In common with all the remaining Lives, however, it breaks up the thirty or forty years assigned by Muirchu to Patrick's studies under Germanus, and, after some time spent at Auxerre, transfers him to the tuition of St. Martin of Tours (Tr. Th. 22, xxii.), thence to the Tamarensian (Camerensian) island, and thence to Rome, where he receives another call (Tr. Th. 22, xxiii.). This transfer to the tuition of Martin involves an insuperable anachronism. Martin had died before A.D. 418, the date of Germanus' call to ecclesiastical orders. In describing these travels it introduces, apparently for the first time, those anomalies in continental geography which here and in all the remaining Lives bespeak a date in times of diminishing enlightenment, and have occasioned extreme embarrassment to successive commentators. Patrick, at Rome, hears the voice of the angel, "'Go thou to the island Hibernia, and aid them who invoke thee.' And Patrick said, 'I will not go until,' &c. And the angel led him to Mount Arnon *ar muir letha* (on the sea of Letha) on a rock of the Tyrrene Sea, in a city which is called Capua" (Tr. Th., 23, xxv.). Elsewhere this mountain is called Armon, Morion, and Narnchin (Lit. Ængus. L. Br.), and is placed somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Arelatensian island; whence it may be surmised that Capua is either a geographical blunder, or that the name may have been borne by some city of Provence, as that of "the Rome of Gaul was borne by Arles.

As regards epoch, this Life, as well as the next, ascribes the martyrdom of Odhran, the Saint's charioteer, to a person far out of the range of any Patrician chronology, namely, Folige, from whom the Hy Failge, "a quo orti sunt alii Folgi," that is Rossa Foilge, eldest son of Cathir Mor, whose date would be early in the third century. The subsequent Lives correct the anachronism by introducing a Foilge Bearraidh (sl. A.D. 501, Q. M.) as the murderer; but, assuming Life Three to be of earlier compilation, it is worth remark that it represents Foilge as having been revisited "post multum temporis" by Patrick, affording another instance of successive *acta*, at long intervals, ascribed to one or more of the name. The body of Foilge had in

the meantime been inhabited by the demon, and on being summoned to Patrick's presence, his dry bones only are found in his house (Tr. Th. 25, c. lix.). The remainder of the Third Life appears to be drawn from Muirchu and Tirechan.

XXXIX.—Life Four begins with a tradition that the family of Patrick was of Jewish descent, and reached their settlement in Strath-clyde, "in qua terra conceptus et natus est" (Tr. Th., 35, c. i.), by way of Armorica "juxta mare Thyrrenum," showing that in the writer's judgment there were several Armoricas, one on the southern as well as the better known Armorica on the northern sea-board of Gaul. Having suggested the interpretation "turris cœlestis" for *Nemthor*, and given the current version of *Campus Taberniæ*, he adds, "Britannica autem lingua *Campus Tabern* idem campus tabernaculorum dicitur," probably referring to the *Moy Tabern* of old Irish Tuatha de Danaan tradition, whose site, on independent grounds, is put in this region by O'Flaherty (Ogygia, l. iii., c. xxiii.). The story attaches itself somewhat unconformably to the narrative of the *Confessio:* "Ecce navis tua parata est; tempus namque adest ut in sanctis litteris docearis" (Tr. Th., 37, c. xxi.). It then conducts Patrick, "Elevato velo, prospero flatu, ad Britanicos sinus" (c. xxiii.), to his parents, where he has his call, and whence he proceeds across the southern British Sea to Saint Germanus, first at Auxerre, and afterwards in the Arelatensian island, where he has a further call, again repeated in Rome, whither he proceeds by sea, "per mare Thyrrenum navigando transivit" (c. xxix.), and so back again to Ireland, "recto transitu per Italiam Galliasque." The writer cites the *Confessio*, and, in two instances, from texts not now known to exist. In one of these, Patrick is made to state that his mother was *Concessa* (Tr. Th., 15, c. i.); and in the other (37, c. xvii.) to supply an additional example of the psychological experiences of his youth. In this passage, relating his life in the wilds while herding the flocks of Milchu, he goes on to say, *Audiebam quosdam ex spiritibus psallentes in me, et nesciebam qui essent.* "I heard certain of the spirits within me singing psalms, and I knew not who they might be" (*ante.* viii., 276).

It cannot be said that the Fourth Life supplies anything from which

an earlier epoch than that usually ascribed to Patrick can definitely be inferred. It brings him in contact (c. lxxvii.) with the Foilge abovementioned, but without the story of the dry bones. There may be more matter for reasonable speculation on this head in its statement (c. lxxviii.) that, on a certain occasion Patrick was accompanied on his progress through the borders of Ossory by bishops Ibar and Ailbe. It would be too wide a subject here, to enter on an examination of the grounds on which the obits of these ecclesiastics have been determined in our annals, but I do not desire, in passing the topic by, to be understood as yielding convinced assent to the late date assigned.

XL.—The Fifth Life, in two books, a work well ascertained to the tenth century, bears the name of Probus as author. The writer is manifestly Irish (Tr. Th., 61, *n.* 2). It is to be regretted that, having ascertained, "indubitanter," that *Bannave Taberniæ regionis* is *Nentriæ provinciam ubi olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur*, he does not more distinctly state where Nentria is. He makes Patrick, however, a Briton, intimating at the same time that he himself writes in these islands:—"*Hic* in Britanniis natus." He contradicts the *Confessio* in putting Patrick's call at Mount Hermon, near the Terrene Sea (c. xviii.). His relation of the capture is extremely confused, but seems to show that he understood *Arimuric* in the same sense as the author of Life Four, that is, as a designation of any maritime district. The word, indeed, continued to be so used by Irish writers down to the time of O'Flaherty, who dates the Epistle Dedictory of his Ogygia "Aremoricâ Galviensi." Having stated that Patrick was born "hic in Britanniis," he proceeds:—"Cumque adhuc esset in patria cum patre Calfurnio et matre Concessa, in civitate eorum *Arimuric*, facta est seditio magna in partibus illis. Nam filii Rethmiti Regis de Britannia vastantes *Arimuric*, et alia circumposita loca, jugulaverunt Calpurnium et uxorem ejus Concessam, filiosque eorum, Patricium, &c.—abducentes Hiberniam ingressi sunt et vendiderunt Patricium Milchoni regi," &c.—which can hardly be otherwise read than that while Patrick was still in his own country with his father and mother (i.e., *hic in Britanniis*) in their seaside abode (*civitate Aremorica*) the misfortuue in question befell them. Obviously the passage is either an inaccurate copy of the corresponding statements in the scholium

on the metrical Life, or the latter is an improvement on it or some similar account.

XLI. The statement of the Scholiast, whatever be its true place in the sequence (*ante*, xxiv.), is more definite. He alleges the identity of *Nemthor* with Ailclyde, and accounts for Patrick having been carried off from Lethanian Aremorica, in which, if we accept his authority, we should conclude *Bannave Taberniæ* to be situate, by the circumstance that he had accompanied his family from Strathclyde thither. Contrasting the one story with the other, the less exact will probably be regarded as the older. Whichever be the original, these passages no doubt are the foundation of all that has been conjectured regarding Patrick's Armorican connexion, and his birth among the continental Britons, although both explicitly exclude the latter inference.

XLII.—Probus interposes a third captivity between Patrick's return to his family in insular Britain and his first departure on his Irish mission, conducting him by way of Bordeaux to St. Martin at Tours, from whom he receives the tonsure and ordination; thence to the "Eremitas et Solitarios nudis pedibus"; thence to the Island between the mountains and the sea, from which he goes to Mount Hermon, and is there ordained presbyter by Bishop Senior, whose city, we are informed, "vallata est septem muris" (Tr. Th., 48, xvii.). A frequent source of error in Irish transcription arises from the confusion between the characters or sigla expressing six and seven (*sé* and *secht*); and a six-walled city, *Sixfours* the *Hexafrourai* of the Massilian colonists, does, indeed, exist within no great distance of Arles, and may be the place referred to. There is, however, notwithstanding much obscurity in the account of these peregrinations, a general consistency which forbids our ascribing it to mere invention, and few readers will rise from a perusal of Probus without the persuasion that some apostolic missionary of the Irish—whether Palladius Patrick, Senior Patrick, or Patrick the author of the *Confessio*—did, some time in the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, sojourn for purposes of ecclesiastical training in those regions bordering the Terrene Sea on the southern coast of Gaul. It is to this region Probus, in continuing disregard of the *Confessio*, transfers the Call of the children of Focluth Wood, and brings Patrick

thence in prompt obedience to it on his mission to the Irish. Coming hither as a simple presbyter, and without commission, Patrick finds himself unsuccessful, and resolves to seek necessary authority at Rome (Tr. Th., 48, c. xix). At this point Probus, resuming the narrative of Muirchu, "transnavigato vero mari Britannico" (Hog. Doc., 24, c. 25), conducts Patrick to Germanus, and proceeds with the remaining incidents of his hearing of Palladius' mission and death, and of his return hither, and missionary *acta*, as already related. These various captivities and double mission taken in connexion with the two Patricks of the "Fiacc" Life, (xxiii.) are certainly suggestive of blended sets of *acta* of several persons living at different epochs.

XLIII. The Tripartite, or Life Seven, is the most copious repertory of all; and, from the fact that the first elements of almost all its matter may be found in the Book of Armagh, either recorded at length or indicated in the rough index (Hog. Doc. 110–16) to names of persons and places at the end of Tirechan in that collection, there can be little doubt that, whatever be the date of its compilation in its present form, most of its substance is drawn from traditions which were current before the compilation of the Armagh Codex. It may, therefore, be of an authority equal to that of any of the antecedent Lives. Its testimony on the question of birthplace is explicit, that Patrick was born at Nemthor of the Strath-clyde Britons ("de Britannis Alcluidentibus," Tr. Th., 117, c. I.), and that the palace of the prince of that region, daily frequented by Patrick's foster-mother, described by Jocelyn as "in quodam promontorio supereminenti præfato oppido Nempthor" (Tr. Th., 66, c. xi.), was in Ailclyde (Tr. Th., 119, c. xv.).

The Tripartite also has the Armorican story, substantially as told by Probus and the Scholiast on *Fiacc*; and, on the subject of Patrick's continental travels, follows the *Fiacc* in making Patrick's escape from captivity a first step in his continental journey. "Patricio in solitudine agenti, apparuit Angelus, jubens ut in Italiam ad discendas scripturas se conferat. Dixit, propera: ecce nuvis tua parata est" (Tr. Th., 120, c. xxii). And in equal disregard of the authority of the *Confessio* it puts the call in the islands of the Terrene Sea. As bearing on the question of epoch,

it differs from all the antecedent Lives in extending Patrick's period from his first arrival in the 5th of Leoghaire throughout that and the following reign into the 8th year of Lugaid, Laery's son, who succeeded on the death of Ailill Molt, A. D. 481. This brings the death of the Patrick of the Tripartite to A. D. 493, the date which has had the acceptance of the greater number of modern writers, these also being of the greater weight. As early indeed as the compilation of the Patrician Synchronismus in the Leabhar Breac (vol. 2, p. 220) which probable associated evidence would refer to the time of Domnall, Archbishop of Armagh, A. D. 1095, this was the received date, and, notwithstanding the evidence of Tirechan to the contrary, it continues to be so in the Annals and in the latest writings of Todd and Shearman. The "Chronicon Scotorum," however, distinguishes A. D. 489 as the date of the death of Patrick the Archbishop and Apostle of the Irish, marking, in nearer accordance with Tirechan, A. D. 457, in the latter part of the reign of Leoghaire, as the obit of "Senior Patrick the bishop, *i.e.* of Glastonbury," a further evidence of the continuing tradition from the time of the writer of the Fiacc Life of there having been at least two Patricks engaged in the Irish mission. But that a missionary of so late a date should have been in living relations with the persons introduced by the Tripartite as Patrick's cotemporaries is very difficult to credit.

XLIV. Amongst the names included in the rough index referred to (*sup.* xliii.) is found Saran, son of Coelbadh, and the twelve sons of Coelbadh. Patrick's connexion with them, although not further expanded in the Book of Armagh, is here fully detailed. He desired to found a church at a place not now known in the northern part of Ulster, at that time ruled by Saran, who opposed his wishes. Saran was king of Ulster in succession to his father, Coelbad, whose period is the better fixed because he was for one year full king of Ireland, until slain by his successor, Eochaid Muidhmedhon, A. D. 367. This, it will be seen, brings Saran into quasi parity of date with Sinell (*sup.* xxx.), the sons of Cathbod (xxvii.), and Enna Cennsalach (*ib.*), more than half a century before the reign of Leoghaire. The only mode of reconciling these dates with a post-Palladian mission is by supposing that the story of the Tripartite ought to have been told of

some other Saran of the same family; and Shearman, in his Dalaradian Descents (Loc. Pat. Tab. 5), passing over the son of Coelbadh, and following the authority of O'Flaherty (Ogyg. iii. c. lxxvii.), has transferred the incident to Saran son of Coelbadh's grandson, Maine.

XLV. But the son of Maine does not appear, like the son of Coelbadh, to have had a brother Nathsluaig, as to whose relations with Patrick the Tripartite is equally explicit as it is in respect of Saran's. Nathsluaig having commended himself to the Saint by an offered donation of land for a church at Coleraine, Patrick accepts the gift in these ambiguous terms: "It shall be mine, yet not cease to be yours; for a grandson of yours as well as of mine shall have his seat and his place of rest therein;" "which language," adds the author, "though it seemed an enigma, yet proved to be a most true oracle; for that bishop *Carbre* who, in this same place, which ever since that day and event is called *Cuil Rathain*, that is, Ferny Close, did afterwards set up his episcopal seat, was grandson of (the same) Nathsluaig, by his son Diguill, in the way of fleshly generation, and likewise in the order of spiritual procreation was spiritual grandson of the holy Patrick; for bishop Brugach, who is (xvi.) in Rath Mugeonach, ordained bishop by holy Patrick, is he who afterwards ordained *Carbre* bishop" (Tr. Th., 147, 7 a; Vit. ii., c. cxxxvi.), which *Carbre*, it may be observed, is also indirectly noted in the Irish Index (Hog. Doc., 112) as *filius deculli*, in connexion with the Coelbadian family. It is hard to read the prediction otherwise than as referring to an event to occur after the deaths of both grandfathers; which would quite agree with what is above observed respecting Coleraine (*sup.* xxv.).

XLVI. The unduly early connexions above mentioned, are balanced in the Tripartite by others equally late as compared with the accepted Patrician epoch. Patrick having made his first convert amongst the Hy-Garrchon of Wicklow, in Sinell, numbered 59, and also his first convert amongst the Dalaraidhe of Down, in Dichu, son of Trechim, numbered 63, returns to the region of Hy-Garrchon, where he receives the hospitality of Killen, and bestows his blessing on Killen's infant son Marcan, being great-grandson of the same Sinell who had been his first convert in the same district (Tr. Th., 152, c. 17). Thence proceeding

into the borders of Leix, he escapes the danger of certain pitfalls through the warning of a pious matron, Briga the daughter of Fergnat, son of Cobthac, names of note in the genealogy of the Hy-Ercain or descendants of Ercan grand-uncle of St. Brigid of Kildare (Loc. Pat., Tab. v.). Proceeding thence into northern Munster, he baptises Eochaid Baldearg, son of Carthen, of the line of Olioll Olum. While Sinell in these Tables of descent is 59 in generation-order, Eochaid is 66, and Briga is 69. Patrick is thus during his missionary career brought in contact with ten successive generations. It might be possible for an individual, in the course of a long life, and under exceptional circumstances, to converse with persons perhaps so far removed in order of birth as the sixth or seventh generation; but there appears no ground for supposing Patrick's ministry in Ireland to have extended through even half of so great a length of time, much less to have comprised so excessive a range of cotemporaries.

XLVII. Life Six, by Jocelyn of Furness, dates from about A.D. 1185. It relates, in amplified phraseology and not inelegant Latin, the same matters already dealt with, save that it passes by the double series of adventures recorded by Probus; and contributes large additions to the general *acta*, drawn apparently from Tirechan and the Tripartite, or Seventh Life, in reference to which it seems misplaced. So far as concerns this enquiry, it will suffice, to note, that Jocelyn evidently understood Nemthor, or Nemphthor, "Mari Hibernico collimitans" (Tr. Th., 65, c. iv.), to be in North Britain; because, in relating Patrick's journey from the residence of his family towads Gaul, he describes him as "natale solum pertransiens" (Tr. Th., 69, c. xxii). It contains nothing apposite to the other heads of inquiry not to be found equally at large and probably from earlier sources in the Tripartite, save that (c. 150) it designates Coroticus *Ceretic*, and places him "in finibus quibusdam Britaniæ, quæ modo *Vallia* dicitur," a designation in cotemporaneous use for the Britain of Strathclyde (Chron. Ang-Sax., *passim*).

XLVIII. It is plainly impossible to refer all these incidents, literally as they stand recorded, to a single actor. The reader must either reject such of them as are too early and too late respectively, and refer the residue to the Patrick of popular belief; or else accept the alternative of allocating

such of them as appear to stand on an historical basis amongst several Patricks. The former course involves the assumption of a sufficient number of supposed errors of commission and omission in authors and transcribers, to reduce these collateral anomalies to agreement with the body of the *acta*. With these aids, a reasonably consistent account of the Patrick of the Secondary Evidences, in his youth, captivity, continental career, and Irish mission, might be constructed. But if this portraiture be compared with the Patrick of the Primary Evidences, a moral discrepancy, to some minds much more embarrassing than any difficulty of date or person, has to be encountered. For, if the characters presented in the one set of proofs and in the other are to be reconciled, it must be by believing that a conscientious missionary, following in the track of an authorized predecessor, has arrogated to himself all the credit of what had been accomplished by Palladius, if not by Palladius and others; and that a candid student educated in the best schools of the west of Europe should be found lamenting, not only his want of learning, but his want of the opportunities of acquiring it. *Facile potest probari ex saliva scripturæ nuæ qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus.*

XLIX. There seems, therefore, for minds either averse to violent emendations or incapable of reconciling the moral discrepancies in question, no other alternative than to conclude that there were more Patricks than one. On the evidence adduced previously to the considerations now put forward, Dr. Todd had already recognised two—Palladius Patrick, and Patrick Calphurnides; and, since then, Shearman has included with these *Sen* or Senior Patrick of Glastonbury (Loc. Pat., *passim*). Both writers, adhering to the post-Palladian date of all the Patrician *acta*, necessarily ignore the evidences of fourth and early fifth century missionary activity. Both put the mission of Palladius at A. D. 432; but, while Todd fills up the period from thence to 440 with Palladian *acta*, and thence to 493 with those of Patrick, son of Calphurn, Shearman occupies the time from 432 to 463 with the acts of Palladius and of the Glastonbury or Old Patrick, and thence to 493 with those of his Third Patrick, the author of the *Confessio*. To allocate the bulk of the *acta* is now impossible; but it is obvious that if events of pre-Palladian times be really predicated of any Patrick in the

Lives, they will be more consistently referred to him whose writings have come down to us, and are found to contain no trace of any predecessor in the Irish missionary field.

L. Regarding Patrick's continental travels, there are three schools of opinion traceable in the Lives, these also indicating a growth from traditions respecting several persons. In all, the object is to acquire the knowledge and status necessary for his mission. Muirchu carries him, in the prosecution of this design, no further than Auxerre and Ebmoria; "Fiacc," Tirechan, and the authors of the Second and Fifth Lives conduct him thence to the Terrene Sea islands; and the writers of the Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh Lives and the Scholast on Fiacc extend his journey onward, expressly or by necessary implication, to Rome. All agree in placing him under the tuition of Germanus, or of Germanus and Martin, which, if he were the missionary cotemporary of Sinell, Saran, Enna, or the elder Dunlaing, supposing them to have been rightly marshalled in their dates and pedigrees, could not have been so. These considerations had already led Todd, even while adopting the reading "ex[tra] Gallias" (*sup.* viii., 154 *n.*) to ascribe the major part of these experiences to Palladius, whose family connexions, he has shown, probably allied him with both the ecclesiastics named; and have, doubtless, had their weight in inducing Shearman to the conclusion that whatever portion of the continental record does not belong to the history of Palladius, ought to be divided between the other two, and that, as regards the author of the *Confessio*, his orders at least ought to be deemed altogether British (Loc. Pat., 447; Jour. Arch. Soc. Ir., 258).

LI. As to his place of birth, the preceding analysis of the evidences adds two items only to those already accessible to the eye of criticism; but the evidences, it is believed, are here somewhat more systematically marshalled, and a consideration of them will probably excite surprise that any differences of judgment should have arisen on such premises.

LII. There is greater difficulty in concluding that none of the continental incidents related in the Lives concern the author of the *Confessio*. It is true they attach themselves awkwardly to the story told in the *Confessio*, and often contradict it, and in matter and manner

are very much below the standard of its reasonableness, dignity, and sincerity; but they are old in compilation, and derived from sources which were old in the beginning of the ninth century; and if they do not relate to the writer of the *Confessio*, certainly do so to some other Patrick or Patricks, so far as their contents can be considered relevant to any one. The existence of an interval of thirty years, during some part of which Patrick was not in Britain (*sup.* viii., 355), between some event not distinctly indicated and some hostile demonstration against the writer, is clearly stated in the *Confessio* (*ib.*, 307). This, if it have not its *terminus a quo* in the fault with which the seniors reproached him (*ib.*), can only, it would seem, be referred to some period of absence from Britain, either for purposes of study or in the prosecutiou of his mission in Ireland. If the former, his thirty years would tally with the thirty years of continental probation of Muirchu and the other Life-writers, but would be inconsistent with the probable wants of the student, and with his own disclaimer of educational advantages. If the latter, his language—

> "They came . . . they found me after thirty years
> To charge me with one word I had confessed
> Before I was a Deacon,"

would imply that he had either been followed to Ireland by those who objected to his "laborious episcopate" (*sup.* 127*n.*), or brought by them before some tribunal in Britain; and the circumstance of his writing with so much warmth of the "dearest friend" who, on that occasion, appears to have taken part adversely to him, would indicate a recent cause of resentment, and perhaps suggest that towards the close of his career his claim to be considered the "Patricius" of the Irish had been called in question.

LIII. Whether there were many Patricks or one, the question of the epoch of the writer of the *Confessio* remains. It will depend in great measure on the mental constitution of the reader, whether he will incline to accept the post-Palladian or the pre-Palladian epoch. In presence of the general agreement of the Life-writers, many may be disposed to lay the primary documents aside as contributing matter only of moral idiosyncrasy, and will reject or adjust collateral divergencies conformably to a

mission after A. D. 432. Those minds which find more difficulty in the reconcilement of moral discrepancies will, in adopting the alternative view, rest content with the places assigned in the evidences to the sons of Cathbod, Enna, Sinell, Natsluaig, and Saran, and will allow the balance in which the periods of Coroticus, Fiacc, and Dunlang remain suspended to incline to the side having, in their estimation, the moral preponderance. To judge of these elements of opinion, it was necessary that both sets of evidence should be before the reader, and they are now, it is believed for the first time, presented in one catenation.

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[Read, June 8, 1885.]

The MS. known as the Stowe Missal was enclosed in a costly shrine, which has been well depicted in four plates bound up with the second volume of Dr. O'Conor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, and described in the Appendix to Volume I. of the same writer's Stowe Catalogue.* The inscriptions on the shrine have been transcribed and interpreted by Dr. Todd, in a Paper published in the Academy's *Transactions*.†

As both these dissertations are accessible, it will suffice for my purpose to mention that the cover was made in the first half of the eleventh century, at the expense of MacCraith, King of Cashel, and Donchad O'Brien, King of Ireland; and that the MS. belonged to a Munster church, perhaps that of St. Ruadan of Lothra, in Lower Ormond.

Here, however, it is necessary to correct two errors, into which Dr. Todd has fallen, respecting an entry in the Annals of Tigernach, recording the murder of Tadg, brother of Donchad O'Brien. The passage and a note appended are as follows‡:—

"Tadg mac Briain Boromha do marbhadh d'Elibh a bhfell, iar na umhaill dia brathar .i. do Dhondchadh."	"Tadhg, son of Brian Boroimhe, was killed by the Elians with treachery, they having been instigated thereto by his brother, viz., by Donnchadh."

"I quote from the MS. of Tighernach, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the text of this important annalist having been most incorrectly printed by Dr. O'Conor."

* Buckingham, 1819. † Vol. xxiii., Antiquities. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The translation of the second part of this Irish sentence is quite erroneous, and the note betrays a strange lack of critical insight. The value of the Trinity College copy can be estimated from the present specimen. The nominative singular (*fell*) in place of a dative; and a genitive plural (*brathar*) instead of a dative singular, show that the copyist, Mac Firbis, was totally ignorant of the Old Irish declensional forms.

Dr. O'Conor's reading is:—

"Tadg m Briain Boroma do marb. deiliba fill i ar na umail dia brathair .i. do Donchad."*

This, no doubt, looks enigmatical; but it arises partly from the omission of the contractions and partly from errors of the press. The text can be easily restored, and the translation presents no exceptional difficulty.

"Tadg, mac Briain Boruma, do marbad d'Elib i fill, iar n-a umal dia brathair .i. do Donchad."

"Tadg, son of Brian Boru, was killed by the Eli in treachery, after his submission to his brother, that is, to Donchad."

From two other inscriptions we learn that the shrine was redecorated by Philip O'Kennedy, King of Ormond, and his wife Aine. These personages both died in 1381. This disproves O'Conor's conjecture that the shrine and its contents were amongst the donations sent by Conor O'Brien, King of Munster, to the monastery of Ratisbon, in 1131.

The MS. enclosed is small, and in shape nearly quarto. It is bound in boards of oak, covered with leather. The end, or right hand, cover is perforated with ten holes. These tally with ten others extending some distance through the final folios, and with an equal number of nails in the lower side of the case; showing that the book was made fast to the casket.

The exterior exhibits evidence of additions made at a subsequent date.

* Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, II. 276.

In MSS. which were in daily use, like this before us, such indications are to be sought for on the upper margin. Not having been subjected to constant manipulation, its surface will reveal the existence and extent of diversity in the component parts. In the light lines here contrasting with the prevailing dark colour, the eye readily detects the presence of interpolated folios.

The material is of vellum. The MS. was originally made up of twenty-nine membranes, distributed into five gatherings of six, five, seven, six, and five, respectively. The membranes were doubled, and those of each gathering placed within one another. Of the fifty-eight folios thus formed, the first and last, probably from having been left vacant, were cut away. Nine were inserted at a subsequent date. The book in its present condition, accordingly, consists of sixty-five folios. They measure about $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width. The gatherings are as old as the MS. itself. Unlike those of the Priscian and other MSS. in St. Gall, they were not numbered, either by the maker or the scribes.

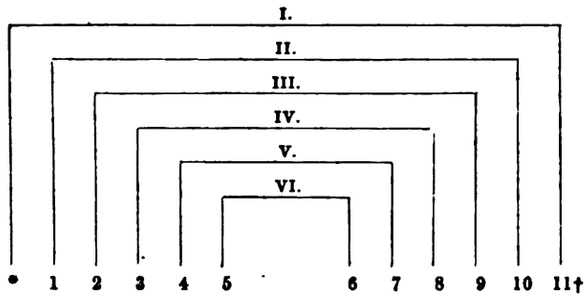
The contents are as follows:—

I.—Fol. 1 a–11 a.—Excerpts from the Gospel of St. John.
II.— ,, 12 a–44 a.—Missal.
III.— ,, 44 b–58 a.—Ordo Baptismi.
IV.— ,, 58 a–63 a.—Order of Visitation of Sick, including Extreme Unction and Communion.
V.— ,, 63 b–65 a.—Irish Tract on the Mass.
VI.— ,, 65 b. —Three Irish Spells.

I.

No. 1 is contained in the first gathering. The annexed diagram will exhibit the arrangement. The Roman numerals represent the membranes. The Arabics show the folios, which I have numbered for convenience of reference:—

FIRST GATHERING [SEXTERNIO].



* Cut away. † Folio 11 b is occupied with figure of St. John the Evangelist.

The ruling of this gathering consists of thirty-one horizontal lines. To ensure straightness and uniformity, an equal number of punctures was made on both sides. Each puncture was carried through and through, thus marking all the folios at once. Margins about three-fourths of an inch in width were marked off by a vertical line at each side. The impression of the lines is indelible, which shows that the process was carried out whilst the parchment was still damp.

The writing is a small, somewhat ill-shaped, Minuscule. It is probably coeval with that of the Book of Dimma, a seventh century Evangelistarium, to the more rudely executed portions of which it bears a close resemblance. In confirmation of the similarity in script and age, it may be mentioned that, if the Missal was kept in Lothra, the two MSS. belonged to neighbouring monasteries, the Book of Dimma having been preserved in the Abbey of St. Cronan, Roscrea.

The contents are the following portions of the Gospel of St. John, both references being inclusive :—

1.	i.–vi. 30.	6.	xviii. 15 (from Discipulus)–23.
2.	vii. 45–viii.	7.	xix. 40–xxi. 6.
3.	xii. 9–39.	8.	xxi. 9–12.
4.	xvi. 11 (from Pater Sancte)–xviii. 1.	9.	xxi. 15–to end.
5.	xviii. 4–13.		

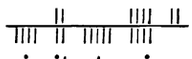
The sections are not numbered; nor, as a consequence, are the references to the Eusebian canons given. Furthermore, the Text runs on continuously, the only distinction being that the initial letter of each section was placed opposite, about the centre of the left margin. For example, the conclusion of vi. 30 is placed in juxta-position with vii. 45–6, on folio 6 a, in the following manner:—

et credamus tibi quod operaris ʃ quare non adduxistis eum responderunt
V enerunt igitur ministri ad pontifices et farisseos et dixerunt eis illi
ministri nunquam sic locutus est homo sicut hic homo.

Upon what principle the selection was made, we have no means of deciding. From the fact that there are but few perceptible changes in the ink, it may perhaps be inferred that the scribe wrote on continuously from a book in which the excerpts were placed just as we have them here.

The Recension does not come within the scope of the present Paper.

The Colophon stands thus:—

Deo gratias ago. Amen. Finit. Amen.
Rogo qui cum que hunc librum legeris ut memineris mei peccatoris scriptoris .i.  peregrinuS. Amen. Sanus sit qui scripsit et cui scriptum est.
Amen.

Read from left to right, the ogam is Sonid; from right to left, Dinos. The former, I have little doubt, is the true form. The writer clearly intended to play upon the Irish word *sonad* (*fortunate, happy*), and the Latin *sanus*. His name has completely disappeared from every other memorial, whether of stone or parchment, which to my knowledge has yet come to light.

It has to be added, in conclusion, that this portion has no necessary connection with the rest of the MS. The similarity in size probably led to its being bound up with the larger volume. Such collections, or bibliothecæ, were not unusual in the history of Irish MSS.

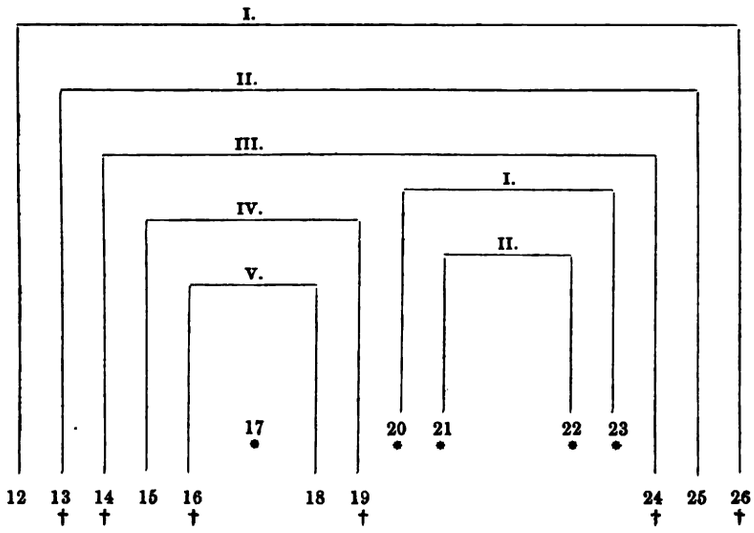
II.

The next work is the Missal from which the MS. has in part derived its modern name. It is the most valuable liturgical monument which has been preserved of the Early Irish, and probably of any other Western, Church.

In structure, it was originally composed of two gatherings, containing five and seven membranes respectively. At a later date, some pages were cancelled, wholly or partially, and nine folios interpolated, by a scribe who gives his name, Moelcaich (*Calvus luscus*), on folio 35 a.

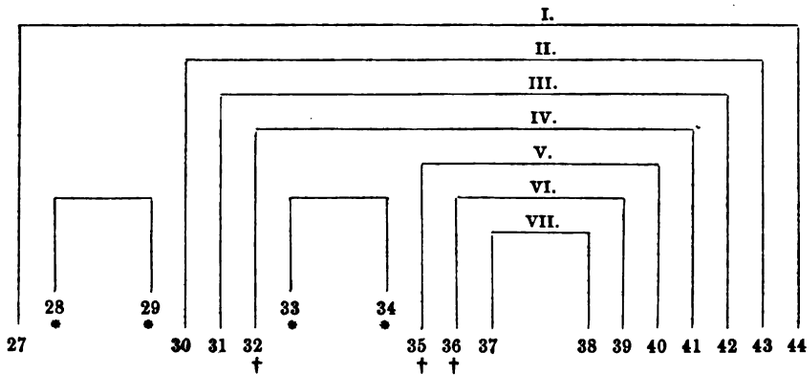
The annexed diagrams will show in a more convenient form than a verbal description the folio arrangement, the extent of the Palimpsest, the position of the inserted leaves, and the present amount of the Missal. The numbering of the folios is continued from the first gathering.

SECOND GATHERING [QUINTERNIO].



* Folios interpolated. † Folios on which erasures took place.

THIRD GATHERING [SEPTERNIO].



* Folios interpolated. † Folios on which erasures took place.

In addition, writing has been placed on the sides, and between the lines, of the original folios; but, as they do not affect the structure, they will be pointed out as they occur. All these parts—erased, inserted, marginal, and interlinear—have been written by Moelcaich, whose name, it has been already mentioned, is found on 35 a.

The following shows the amount of the Palimpsest:—

Folio	13 b,	4 lines.	Folio	24 b,	8 lines.
,,	14 a,	8 ,,	,,	26 b,	2 words.
,,	16 b,	9 ,,	,,	32 b,	10 lines.
,,	19 a,	nearly 7 ,,	,,	35 a,	all.
,,	19 b,	all.	,,	36 a,	1 word.
,,	24 a,	all lines.			

This List is interesting, as affording the only evidence yet discovered of the execution of a Codex Rescriptus in Ireland.

A Codex Rescriptus is a MS. which has been written a second time. A Palimpsest (παλίμψηστος) is a MS., the writing of which has been removed to prepare the parchment for the reception of the second script.

The removal of the original script was effected by a damp or by a dry process. The damp, and, if we can apply the term to such a practice,

scientific system, consisted in rubbing with pumice-stone. The dry, on the other hand, was a rough and ready method, carried out with an edged instrument in either of two ways. Sometimes the letters were removed one by one; more frequently, the stroke was drawn over a portion or the whole of a line.

Of the three, the first, though producing a *tabula rasa* to the eye, was the least destructive; the visible portion of the writing being alone removed. The great drawback is, that nothing can be recovered without the aid of chemicals. The second is the worst of all. Fortunately, it was so tedious of execution as to be very seldom employed; and then only in the erasure of single words. The third obliterates the central portion of the letters,—sometimes to the extent of wearing holes in the vellum. Still, since it leaves the edges comparatively intact, portions of the original can be made out without the employment of reagents.

The present Palimpsest was not executed in the first and best (?) fashion. This fact is important, showing, as it does, that the person *qui optime noverat radere chartas* had no congeners in the caligraphic schools of Ireland. All included in the foregoing List, with two exceptions (26b and 36a), that belong to the second, was carried out, as occasion arose, in the third and inexpert manner.

What I have succeeded in recovering will be found in the sequel. To achieve fuller, perhaps perfect, results is only a question of leisure, bright weather, and occasional application of reagents.

It will be convenient to set down in this place the arrangement and numbering of the remaining gatherings:—

Fourth Gathering [Sexternio].		Fifth Gathering [Quinternio].	
I.—Folios 45, 56.		I.—Folios 57, 66.	This folio (66) is cut off.
II.— ,, 46, 55.		II.— ,, 58, 65.	Last folio (65), at present.
III.— ,, 47, 54.		III.— ,, 59, 64.	
IV.— ,, 48, 53.		IV.— ,, 60, 63.	
V.— ,, 49, 52.		V.— ,, 61, 62.	
VI.— ,, 50, 51.			

This distribution, taken in connection with the Table of Contents, shows that the Missal could be, and most probably was originally, separated from the Sacramentary.

The ruling of the original portion consists of thirteen horizontal spaces, one-eighth of an inch in breadth, and one-fourth of an inch apart. Each space is defined by two lines. The lateral margins are marked off by spaces of the same size and similarly formed. As in the first gathering, the process was effected whilst the parchment was moist. The boldness and regularity of the lines are very remarkable, in the absence of marginal guides, such as were employed in the Gospel portion.

The writing is executed on the narrow spaces. It is carried across the page, except on 12 b, 30 a b, and 31 a, which have two, four, and three columns respectively. A noticeable feature is, that when the final words of a paragraph were insufficient to fill a line, they were placed, as a rule, at the end, leaving the first part vacant.

The Palæography next demands attention. Two scribes were employed in the transcription of the older portion of the MS. The second copied from 26 a to the end of the Missal (44 a); 64 b and 65 a b (I omitted to note, as being unnecessary for my present purpose, the respective shares in the remainder of the work). His writing, however, displays no diversity of character or date: it was the work of the bolder and the heavier hand,—nothing more.

Passing over the initial P—a good specimen of a large Square Capital—the Script exhibits five clearly defined species. The Capitals are—(1) some Angular, and (2) some Uncial, the latter predominating. Composite, that is, partly angular and partly uncial, Capitals are also to be found; but these may be classed as subdivisions of (1) and (2), according to the prevailing element. The Text of the Latin presents —(3) a large, that of the Latin Rubrics and of the Irish Tract and Spells a small, Minuscule. In the capital R, in the non-connection of some letters, and in the angular formation of all, this type retains three distinctive features of the Angular Majuscule (1). It may, therefore, be called Semi-Majuscule, or Mediuscule. The Irish Rubrics on folio 49 a

and folio 56 a are—(4) in a small angular the Latin Titles on folio 36 a and folio 45 a; (5) in a medium uncial, Minuscule.

ANGULAR	—Majuscule (1).	UNCIAL	—Majuscule (2).
	—Mediuscule (3).		—Mediuscule (None).
	—Minuscule (4).		—Minuscule (5).

It needs but a cursory acquaintance with Irish writing to notice here the absence of a well-known, and the presence of a new, style of letter. The missing type may be described in the words of Dr. Ferdinand Keller. His *Bilder und Schriftzüge*, drawn from original sources, established once for all the claim of Ireland to the matchless monuments which the Benedictines and others had labelled Anglo-Saxon, and the Essay will always remain a standard authority:—

"Die irische Schrift erscheint in zwei, dem Gebrauche nach verschiedenen Gestalten, nämlich in einer Minuskel (Rundhandschrift) [Uncial Mediuscule] und in einer mehr eckigen Currentschrift [No. 4]. Die erstere zeigt mehrere Nüancen. Eine von diesen, die Rundhandform [Uncial Mediuscule], wie sie in den Gospels of Lindisfarne, S. Chad, S. Columba's zu Dublin und dem Missal des h. Columbanus zu Mailand erscheint, gränzt an die runde Uncialschrift, während eine andere, schmale, kleine Hand, wie in Leabhar Dimma, Book of Armagh, Gospels of Mac Durnan mit der Cursiv-Schrift verwandt ist [No. 4].

"Der charakter der Uncialschrift erhält durch die Rundungen und den sanften Schwung der Züge eine Weichheit, die das Auge erfreut, im Gegensatz zur fränkischen Schrift, die mehr Eckiges darbietet, und allmählig in das Gebrochene, Steife der sogenannten gothischen Schrift übergeht."*

Here is a palæographer who, in addition to the knowledge of our most famous MSS. in England and Ireland, had personally examined those in St. Gall and Schaffhausen, in Basle, and Berne, and Zurich, and what conclusions does he arrive at respecting the graphic form?

* Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der Schweizerischen Bibliotheken gesammelt, und mit Bemerkungen herausgegeben, von Dr. Ferdinand Keller.—(*Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, Siebenter Band, drittes Heft: Zürich, 1851), p. 71.

That the round-hand Mediuscule is their characteristic; and that the angular form is not Irish at all, but Frankish! Strange, that it never occurred to him to inquire whence came the *angular running hand* mentioned by him.

Turning now to the MS. before us, we find indeed a Semi-Majuscule: but, withal, it presents no evidence of roundness. Just the contrary. The letters are all composed of straight lines; drawn vertically where practicable, and joined, when occasion arose, by other straight lines. In the body, or interlinear portion, of the Script you will scarce find a segment of a circle.

How, it is of importance to determine, is this hitherto undiscovered species to be explained and classified? The Missal furnishes the requisite data. The characters were modelled upon the forms of the Angular Capitals. They are reduced copies of the initials found in this volume. They take up the place till now unoccupied between the Angular Majuscule and the Angular Minuscule. Accordingly, they stand in a position corresponding to that which the writing of the Book of Kells holds in the Uncial division. The Script is, consequently, an older form than the latter, as its archetype the Quadriform was prior in time to the Round.

Independent investigation has thus led to the same conclusion as Dr. Todd's; namely, that the original MS. was written in a character "which may well be deemed older than the sixth century."*

Of this Script no other example has as yet come to light. The nearest approach to it is contained in the specimen from the Martyrology of St. Willibrord, given in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*;† and in the angular portion of the St. Gall Fragment, to be mentioned later on. Two reasons can with probability be assigned for its disappearance. In the first place, as experience shows, its execution, owing to the number of separate strokes, was extremely laborious. A more effectual cause was, that Missals and Rituals and Evangelisteria were intended to be read at a distance. The superiority which the round Semi-Majuscule presented for this purpose in its large open spaces was so decided as to cause

* *Ubi sup.*, p. 16.

† Cooper's Appendix A, Supplement, Plate III.

the total supersession of the older form. Its retention in the present instance was owing perhaps to the veneration in which the original *libellus*, written doubtless in Angular Majuscule, was held.

The palæographic interest of the MS. consists, accordingly, in this, that it has brought to light a hitherto unknown type of Scriptura Scottica: adding another to the book-hands which the Irish School of Caligraphy practised and carried to such unrivalled excellence.

The writing of Moelcaich is a medium-sized Minuscule, partly angular and partly uncial, the latter feature predominating. It marks the transition from one type to the other, and can be as old as the middle of the eighth century—the date to which this portion of the MS. may be assigned.

Some Middle-Irish, so called, corruptions have been collected (the list is capable of extension), to prove that, since they occur therein, the Irish Text cannot have been written before the tenth century. But, upon investigation, these corruptions will be found to belong, one to pronominal prolepsis, the rest to vocalic and consonantal interchange,—two barbarisms, the existence of which in our most ancient linguistic monuments is amongst the commonplaces of Irish Philology.*

The presence of these corruptions, instead of proving the recent date of the Irish Text, establishes the early date of their own introduction into the national speech.

A second assertion, that the Irish was probably transcribed in the twelfth century, illustrates, if I mistake not, the danger of drawing conclusions without taking all the circumstances into consideration. What are the admitted facts connected with the volume? Early in the eleventh century it was enclosed, at the expense of two kings, in a shrine the value of which, we may safely assume, was the measure of the reverence in which the book was held. The enshrining is evidence, since it was the result, of disuse as a Missal and Sacramentary. Henceforward it became a Reliquary.

For this conclusion we can produce such authority as is not often available. Those who re-decorated the case, few will care to deny,

* Note A.

knew its character. Now, the two Inscriptions mentioned above ask a prayer for Philip, etc., [*by whom was c*]*overed this shrine:* [*lasar c*]*umdaiged in mindsa.* Dr. Todd, no doubt, translates the word *mind* by *ornament.* But, as he had read the proofs, he might have learned the true meaning from Dean Reeves's noble edition of Adamnan: "The word minna [pl. of mind] signifies articles of veneration, such as the crozier, books, or vestments, of a saint."*

The Shrine, we may accordingly well believe, was jealously guarded, to be exhibited only on solemn occasions, such as the Festival of the patron Saint. Is it probable that, under such circumstances, the MS. was extracted from the cover, to insert writing which nobody would have an opportunity of reading? Had such an event taken place, the loss, I venture to say, would have been ours; a treasure so lightly regarded would never have been preserved to the present time.

If it be argued that additions were not unknown in MSS. similarly enshrined; and that the Book of Kells and the Book of Armagh are cases in point, the reply is obvious and final. The Tract in the Missal was intended for use; the entries in the other books were for reference,—muniments entered on behoof, and with the consent, if not at the request, of the respective custodians.

We shall see immediately that the Liturgies of the Missal and Tract are substantially the same. This sufficiently accounts for the insertion of the Tract: that the priest might have at hand a brief exposition of the Liturgy. Such were the *Expositio brevis* † of Germanus Parisiensis, and that of the Roman Mass by the anonymous Gallican Author,‡ both of which were designed for popular instruction.

I come now to the contents. With respect to Dr. O'Conor's Essay upon the cover, Dr. Todd writes: "It is deeply to be lamented that he did not abridge some of his 'excursus,' and give us instead a correct transcript of the very important text of the ancient Latin Missal which the box contains. Such a transcript would have superseded his unsatis-

* P. 315–6, Note B.

† Martene, *De Antiq. Ecclesiæ ritibus*, Antwerp, 1736: tom. i. col. 464, *sq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, col. 443, *sq.*

factory description of the MS., and would have been an invaluable addition to our existing materials for a history of the primitive Missal of the Western Churches"*

With these observations O'Conor's readers will readily concur. I have accordingly endeavoured to make the transcript appended to this Paper reliable. Moelcaich's additions are distinguished by being set in different type. The peculiar Irish orthography and accentuation have not been retained. The words in which they appear are, however, given at foot. Thus, by substituting the marginal for the textual form, the MS. reading will be obtained. Emendations are made where possible, and the grounds for them stated.

The scribes, as will be seen, were mere manual workers. Punctuation was employed sparingly, and, as was to be expected, occasionally without meaning. The following marks are found:—single point placed on centre of writing space · = comma, colon, and full stop; two : and three points :· = comma; three points ⁝ = colon and full stop; two points with comma :, = full stop.

Moelcaich, necessarily, was acquainted with Latin.

The Irish Tract (A) has been added, as being coeval with the Missal, and affording materials for judging of the contents. A second, but imperfect copy, is preserved in the *Lebar Breac* (B). Like the other contents of that great collection, it has been sadly marred by corruptions of form and meaning in the transcription. The parallel passages are numbered, to facilitate reference.

The omission of the opening sentences shows that A was itself a copy. This is further evidenced in one of the corrections made by the scribe. On folio 64 a, lines 11–12, *conrecatar indaleth* (*the two halves meet*) stood thus in the first transcription. A little further on, line 13, *fombaiter indalled* (*whereby one half is submerged*) occurred. Accordingly, the copyist goes back to the preceding line, and places an *l* over the one in the Text, thereby making the form *indalleth*! But this is nonsense here. For the first grouping is = *in da leth* (*the two halves*), nominative dual; whilst the second represents *ind ala led* (*the other half*), nominative

* P. 4–5.

singular. *Ind*, it may however be said, is the nominative singular feminine of the article, and *led* is neuter. But the solution is familiar to students of Irish: Anteponi solet *indala* (unus e duobus) per omnes casus immutabile.* The transcriber, therefore, did his work accurately at first, and showed his own knowledge by improving it afterwards.

The ludicrous interpolation in B that at the Consecration the priests chant the *Miserere*, demonstrates how completely the meaning was lost at the date of the copy which the *Lebar Breac* scribe had before him.

The Fraction and Distribution were passed over in B, owing doubtless to the fact that the tradition regarding this rite had died out,—a circumstance which need excite no surprise.

With respect to the Latin Text, the first thing that calls for explanation is placing the membrane numbered 28–29 immediately after folio 12. Some alteration, it is evident, was demanded. For who shall construe Libera nos Domine with *propheta omnes*; and *quorum ut dixit* with Abelis? The clue to the solution lies herein, that the final portion of 29 b and the opening lines on 13 a both belong to the prayer of St. Ambrose. Bringing them together, the modern title of the Litany is borne out by the additions of Moelcaich; and *dixit*, standing last on 29 b (a left-hand page), finds its subject in *propheta*, the first word on 13 a (right-hand page). The *Prophet* is Isaiah; the quotation being taken from lxiv. 6.

That the displacement is of modern date can be inferred from the fact that the sheet, which evidently had become detached, is fastened with thread. As he considered the Litany to be in its proper place, the arrangement is perhaps to be attributed to O'Conor.

The Latin and Irish Texts taken together supply data for explaining them upon liturgical grounds. In the Latin we find (folio 39 b) the Prayer *Vere Sanctus* given in full. This was to be followed by another, which was so well known as to render it superfluous to insert more than *Qui pridie*, the opening words. Where, the question naturally arises, are these Prayers to find a place in the frame-work of the present Missal? The answer must be: Nowhere. Now, by this radical dissimilarity we can

* Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.*, Ed. 2, p. 359–60.

determine the character, and, consequently, the approximate date, of the Liturgy presented in the older part of the MS.

The Prayers in question belong to the Gallican Mass: *Vere Sanctus* being what is called the *post Sanctus*, and *Qui pridie* the first words of the Consecration formula. The retention of both in juxta-position with the Gelasian Preface and Canon is proof conclusive that we have here a mixed Recension—a Gallican Liturgy enlarged from Roman sources.

Passing over to the Irish Tract, A reads: Accepit Iesus panem. To this, B adds: stans in medio discipulorum suorum. *Usque in finem.* Yet more is given in the Gallican Missal: Qui pridie quam pro omnium salute pateretur, . . . stans in medio discipulorum suorum, accepit panem. *Et rel.** Read by the light of the Latin Text, this shows that the Liturgy which the Tract purported to explain was Gallican too.

We come back to the work of Moelcaich. The Rubrics are in consonance with what is contained in the Irish Tract, and therefore Gallican; whilst the additional matter is mostly of Gallican origin, inserted in accordance with the Gallican system.

We have thus three Recensions: modified Gallican in the Irish Tract (A); modified Gallican with Roman additions in the Missal (B); this Roman-Gallican with Gallican additions in the later portion of the MS. (C).

Let us now proceed to discriminate the components of the older Latin Recension (B). The first step in this direction is to ascertain the reading of the Palimpsest. Had Moelcaich's alterations been confined to the insertion of folios, their omission, it is manifest, would, as in 28–9, suffice to restore the original Text. But the continuity has been broken by the erasures. Still, the search need not be abandoned as hopeless.

It is noteworthy, to begin with, that whilst nine new leaves were put in, not one, the structural arrangement proves, was left out. Excision, plainly, was not the object proposed. Again, though much new matter has been added, for instance, to the Canon, no part certainly of the old has been taken away. Substitution, therefore, was not the intention. Nothing remains then except to conclude that the end in view was

* Feria V. in cœna Domini.

addition. The abraded Text of (B) must consequently have been embodied in the enlarged Recension (C).

The next thing to be done is to distinguish these erased portions amidst the additional matter which was introduced. Herein, fortunately, we are materially assisted by two of those undesigned coincidences so characteristic of our national MSS.

The Bobio Missal, in transcription, was the work of an Irishman. The Script, according to Mabillon, is Majuscule. The authors of the *Nouveau Traité** judged it belonged perhaps to the Roman writing used in the British Isles before the conversion of the Angles. In other words, it is Irish; an opinion in which Dr. Keller agrees without hesitation. It bears a resemblance to the Muratorian Canon (another Bobio MS.), and to the Gospels of St. Kilian, in having some of the characters Angular, and others, the greater part, Uncial, with Minuscule letters of each kind interspersed. The orthography, so far as noted by Mabillon, is, in some instances, even more distinctive than that of the Stowe Missal,—suggesting that the copyist worked from the dictation of a fellow-countryman.

But it does not follow, because the writing is Irish, that a MS. was executed in Ireland; much less, upon Irish subjects. Far from it. In the present case, the Mass of St. Martin and the names introduced into the Canon tell as plainly as the most explicit Colophon that the Missal was drawn up for a Church in France. This, the Mass for St. Sigismund makes it certain, was situated in Burgundy: doubtless, one of those founded by St. Columbanus.

Evidence still more conclusive respecting the locality is contained in the Penitential appended to the volume. The subject would well repay separate treatment, were this the place to enter upon it. One proof will suffice for our present purpose. Canon XXXI. stands thus: Si quis Calendas Januarias in cervolo vel vicola vadit, etc. In consonance therewith, the destruction of idolatry is mentioned in the Mass for the Circumcision.† The enactment was made to carry out the first decree of the Council of Auxerre, held perhaps some twenty years previously (A.D. 578).

* III. 210.

† Omnia idola destruxit . . . regnum idolatriae (sic) destruxisti.

But in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, which was admittedly compiled for the Irish Church, you will seek this prohibition in vain. The omission confirms what is attested by the silence of the native records, that our pagan forefathers indulged in no mummery on the first of January.

It has been said, I know, that *vicola* occurs in Cummian.* But, to make this fact of any significance, it should first be shown that Cummian's Penitential is an Irish, not a Frankish, document—an up-hill task, to say the least. Besides, the reading, as may be observed at foot, is *vecola.*

Vicola is also said, *ib.*, to be found in Adamnan. On referring to the places indicated,† the word used, it will be seen, is *viculus*, the diminutive of *vicus*, a village—one of eighty-three such derivatives affected by St. Columba's biographer.

The vocable, it to ought be superfluous to observe, is a vox nihili—a copyist's blunder. The true reading, *vetula*,‡ is given in the St. Gall and other Penitentials, and the meaning has been within easy reach for more than two centuries.§

The *Missa Romensis Cottidiana*, inserted consecutively at the beginning of the Bobio Missal, enables us to determine the portions, whether erased or retained, of the Stowe Missal that were styled *Orationes et preces Missæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ* by Moelcaich. Allowing for variations arising from local causes, the sustained similarity of diction proves that both compilers copied from duplicates of the same Gelasian Sacramentary.

The second coincidence helps to complete the discrimination of the old and new Texts. In the Library of St. Gall are two Collections of Fragments, numbered respectively 1394 and 1395. The latter contains one,

* Essays on the Early Irish Church, p. 287. Si . . . in vecola . . . vadit. Cum. vii. 9.

† Aliquo . . . viculo . . . reperto. Quid in illo agitur viculo. i. 34. Ut viculus . . . totus concremeretur. ii. 7.

‡ SG. § 16. Hal. VI. 3. Ps.—Theod. XII. 19. Non licet Kalendis Januarii vetula aut cervolo facere. Conc. Autis. can. I. Conc. om. gen. et prov. Coll. regia, Paris. 1644. XIII., p. 14. Read: vetulam aut cervulum.

§ "Solebant quippe ii [Pagani] Kal. Jan., belluarum, pecudum, et vetularum assumptis formis, huc et illuc discursare et petulantius sese gerere." Caroli Dufresne, Domini Du Cange, Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae & infimae Latinitatis. Francofurti ad Mœnun, 1681. Voce *Cervula*, tom. 1, col. 940.

the former two folios, all three of which belonged to the same volume.* This, there can be little doubt, was the "Missalis in Vol. I.," entered amongst the six and twenty "Libri Scottice scripti" in the ninth century Catalogue of the monastic books.

With regard to the writing, the Initial on the first page of the single folio is an Uncial of extreme beauty. The remaining letters are the *Literæ quadratæ angulosæ*, which seem, according to Dr. Keller,† to be peculiar to the Irish Script. They resemble those in the Inscription on the Ardagh chalice, and, more nearly, the forms in the *Erat Verbum* of the Gospels of Mac Regol.‡

The second, fifth and sixth pages, and parts of the third and fourth, exhibit a Semi-Majuscule with Uncial; the remainder, a Semi-Majuscule with Angular, predominating. An interlinear Rubric, on page 3, *post* and *per dnm nm ihm*, on page 4, are in Angular Minuscule. These three were inserted, it is plain to see, after the original transcription; and, to judge from the facsimiles, were executed by the writer of the Angular Script. I am thus led to conclude that the portion done in this hand is a Rescription; the chief object being to make additions to the Communion Antiphons on the second folio.

Respecting the contents, the third folio preserves parts of a Mass for the Circumcision, and of another Mass *ad prohibendum ab idolis.* The presence of the latter entitles us, according to the criteria laid down by Mone,§ to fix the date of the Uncial transcript in the seventh century.

On the single leaf are found an Antiphon and Litany; on the second, an introductory prayer to the Pater Noster, the Embolismus, Pax, Communion Antiphons, and two Post-Communions. But what is of importance, these, with the exception of that prefatory to the Lord's Prayer, all agree, as far as they go, with those of the present Missal. The identity, it will not be denied, was the result of identical causes. Working a thousand miles apart, the two Irishmen must have had copies of the same national Liturgy and the same Gelasian Missal.

* Cooper's Appendix to Report on Rymer's Fœdera. Plate XXIII. = fol. 1 a, XXIV. = fol. 1 b (1395); XXIX. = fol. 2 a, XXX. = fol. 2 b (1394); VI. = fol. 3 a, XXVIII. = fol. 3 b (1394).

† Ubi sup. ‡ Gilbert's Facsimiles, etc. Part I., Plate XXIII. § Note C.

A collation of the Communion Antiphons with those given in the interpolated folios and in the Codex Rescriptus will be of assistance in determining the reading of the Palimpsest.

These Fragments have another, possibly greater, interest, as helping to decide a long-vexed question. In 623, the Synod of Maçon was held, to finish the controversy between Agrestius and the monks of Luxeuil. He advanced four charges, the chief of which was that their Liturgy differed from the Liturgy of others in the multiplied variety of its Prayers and Collects.* In reply, Eustasius quoted the command of praying without intermission to justify the multiplicity. The pith of the objection, namely, the variety, he did not notice at all. Indeed, the accusation, it is evident, was not brought forward in good faith. For Agrestius, as well as those present, could not have been ignorant that the Roman Liturgy was accommodated, in the Bobio and other Missals, to the Gallican Use.

His malevolence, accordingly, proceeded from another source. What that source was, we have clear indication in the Penitential appended to the Bobio MS. The XLVIIth Canon is as follows:—Si tutoaverit (titubaverit) sacerdos super oratione Dominica, die uno in pane et aqua. The Lord's Prayer here alluded to is not the Pater Noster, but, as the Irish Tract and Penitentials place beyond question, the formula of Consecration. The omission of the qualifying clause—*quae dicitur periculosa*—is of a piece with the defective literary execution, whether arising from ignorance or haste, of the whole volume.

Now, the St. Gall Fragments, read in connection with this enactment, prove that the variety here intended by Agrestius was of Irish origin. It was brought, namely, by Columbanus and his associates from the monastery of Bangor.

For the rest, in its fate the St. Gall Missal is typical of the decline and extinction of the Columban Institute. First, it became obsolete, being superseded by the Roman. Then, in the Catalogue, the *fourth* hand placed one of his pithy criticisms—Legi non potest, Inutile, Corruptum, or Nihil est—opposite the title. Finally, the volume was broken up; the first folio

* Note D.

preserved for its marvellous border and caligraphy, and the greater portion, the parchment being thick, prepared, it may be, for a Codex Rescriptus. The two leaves here mentioned were found by Father Ildephonsus Von Arx, forming part of a book-cover! Habent sua fata libelli.

Having removed what these and other tests verify as Roman, the residue will represent a Recension employed in Ireland before the introduction of the Gelasian.

It has been already observed that in form and, with few exceptions, in substance the Insertions and Rescription reverted to the older or Gallican Use. A comparison of what was incorporated by the first compiler and of what was inserted by Moelcaich leads to the inference that the latter was for the greater part derived from the same original as the former. That original, we may assume, was preserved in the Monastic Library. Books of the kind were not excessive in number, or easy of access for transcription, in those days. We may, accordingly, avail of Moelcaich's additions in reconstructing the order and supplying the contents of the Hiberno-Gallican Mass.

In proceeding to deal with these, attention has to be directed to the erasure made in the Title on folio 36 a. The opening word was removed, and *Misa* substituted by Moelcaich. Fortunately, three points (:.) which stood after the abraded letters remain intact. Hereby we can see that what was first written was a contracted form. This can have been no other than *ora.*, namely, *Oratio.* The Text, the Irish Tract, and the Rubrics, are thus in accord, in regarding these prayers as Augments; to be employed, that is, when occasion required. In other words, the integrity of the Mass was complete without them; hence they did not necessarily belong to the Liturgy from the beginning.

This is confirmed by two facts recorded in our Hagiology. Amongst the four honours mentioned in the Book of Armagh to be paid to St. Patrick on the recurrence of his festival, the second was: *Offertorium ejus proprium .. immolari.** On the margin opposite, Ferdomnach, the scribe, placed the note of interrogation, Z. And well he might; neither in his time, nor for

* Fol. 16 a 1.

centuries after, was such a prayer in existence. The solution of the puzzle is not far to seek. Tirechan was acquainted with the Proprium Sanctorum, like that here given. Accordingly, he deemed it fitting that the National Apostle should have one to himself. But in the undoubtedly native portion of the Stowe Missal due precedence was accorded by placing his name at the head of the Irish Saints in the general Commemoration.

Such too was the course followed by St. Columba when he wished to honour his deceased friend Columbanus as a Saint. He inserted his name in the *accustomed Prayer*. Evidently, he was acquainted with no other way of showing his veneration in the Liturgy. What, it will be asked, was the *consueta deprecatio* of Adamnan ?* Dean Reeves† quotes the Diptychs of the Church of Arles as a possible explanation. But the wording renders the suggestion untenable. Precantes oramus pro animabus famulorum . . ., meritis et intercessionibus sanctorum proves that this was an intercession for the dead. The Prayer intended, there can, I judge, be no doubt, is the *Cum omnibus* (B $\alpha\beta$ 15). The formula *pro commemorando* served St. Columba's purpose exactly; and the List of Saints was capable of extension. In fact, nearly a column is left vacant with that object in the present Missal.

If the Title, *Deprecatio Sancti Martini*, inserted by Moelcaich, folio 15 b, can be relied upon, which I see no reason to doubt, as meaning that the Litany Dicamus (B α 6) was used in the Church of Tours, the *Deprecatio* and *Cum omnibus* are evidence connecting the Stowe with the Missal of St. Martin which was preserved in the Diocese of Derry.

The *Cum omnibus* was not confined to the Liturgy. It passed into the domain of popular devotion at an early period. A valuable document of this kind has been preserved. It is attributed to Colgu, Lector of Clonmacnoise, who died towards the close of the eighth century. Though the existing transcript dates only from the end of the fourteenth century, declensional and, still more, syntactical, forms avouch the Prayer as the composition of one versed, as became the supposed author, in his native tongue.

In addition, it elucidates some passages in the Irish Tracts.‡

* Note E. † P. 211–12. ‡ Note F.

Considered liturgically, the *Deprecatio* and *Cum omnibus* are, some will think, the most interesting contents of the volume. They afford decisive proof that the Clementine Liturgy was, at least in part, not a mere literary compilation, but actually used. Petitions corresponding in substance with most of the *Deprecatio* are found in the Deacon's Litanies and Great Intercession, and the *Cum omnibus* is an enlargement of a clause in the latter.

The concluding words, quorum Deus nomina nominavit et novit, allowing for the necessary change in person, are a close rendering of *ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τὰ ὄνοματα.*

Applying the foregoing facts and deductions to the Latin and Irish Texts considered as a whole, we obtain the result set forth in the following comparative analysis. It is to be read in connexion with the full Transcripts and Notes given in the Appendix.

It will, doubtless, be noticed, perhaps with surprise, that the *Cursus Scottorum* is not placed amongst the Titles. But the truth is, that Tract, as its first publisher, Spelman, rightly understood,* does not deal with the Liturgy at all, but with the Office, or Celebration of the Canonical Hours.

Two proofs will here suffice. The author lived probably towards the beginning or first quarter of the seventh century—a disciple of St. Columbanus. Well, the seventh chapter of that Patriarch's Rule begins:† De Synaxi, ergo, id est, de Cursu psalmorum et orationum modo canonico. Throughout the chapter, *Synaxis* and *Cursus* are used as convertible terms —the former, three, and the latter, five times.

The Synodical Discourse to be announced to parish priests in every Synod, a fragment of which is preserved in the Lebar Breac, contains the two following injunctions,‡ in which the distinction between *Cursus* and *Missa* could not be more clearly expressed:—Cursum vestrum horis certis decantate. Missarum celebrationes religiose peragite.

If additional evidence be desired, time can be profitably spent in studying the quotations and verifying the references, more than half a column long, under the word *Cursus*, in Du Cange.§

* Conc. etc., Lond. 1639, I. 167.

† Bib. Max. Patr., XII. 4.

‡ L. B. 248 a.

§ Col. 1319–20.

A.	B.			C.	D.
Recension compiled from Irish Tract = B α β.	Recension of Missal.			Recension of Moelcaich = B + Additions derived chiefly from the Sources of B α β.	Recension of St. Gall Fragment, in part Codex Resoriptus [= B α γ + β 18.
	Hiberno-Gallican Contents.				
	Original. α	Augment. β.	Roman contents. γ.		
1. Preparation and Benediction of Eucharistic elements.					
2. Introit.	2. Peccavimus and Litany (12 a b).			2. + Deus before Antiphon, and Sce. Stephane after Litany; Ante conspectum (12 a mrg. 28 – 9, 13 a).	2. Parce to Stephane = B α. (Original ms.)
3. Prayers.	3. Rogo; Ascendat (13 a b).	[Note.—The Irish Augments are printed in italics.]	3. Deus qui beato;* Gloria. Deus qui culpa (13 b, 14 a).	3. Latin Rubric (13 b).	* This Collect is misplaced. According to Roman analogy it should follow the Gloria. In the Bobio MS. it precedes *Deus qui culpa*. Cf. Moelcaich's second Rubric, C 4.
4. Augment.		4 (1) *Deum;* Domine; Deus (36 a, 38 a): (2) Exaltatio; Indulge (40 a b):	4. (3) Præsta; Da nobis (42 b, 43 a).	4. + Deus qui diligentibus; preceded by Latin Rubric, and followed by another (14 a).	
5. Epistle.	5. 1 Cor. xi. 26–32 (14 a b).				
6. Bigradual Psalm and other Prayers.	6. Omnipotens (14 b, 15 a): Parts of Psalms; Dicamus (15 a, 16 a).		6. Grata; Sacrificiis (15 a); Sacrificium (16 b).	6. + Deus (14 b mrg.); Amen to gratias; Ante oculos (15 b, 16 b).	
7. Half uncovering; i.e. veil covering bread and chalice was removed.	7. Veni (17 a).		7. Dir. orated in C.	7. One Irish (*half-uncovering here*) and two Latin Rubrics; Dirigatur (17 a).	
8. Gospel.	8. John vi. 51–7 (17 b, 18 a).		8. + Credo (18 a, 19 a).	8. + Filioque, and alterations pointed out in Note, p. 204.	
9. Prayer for blessing, preparatory to Oblation.	9. Ostende (19 a).			9. Quæsumus (17 c).	
10. Full uncovering; i.e. veil removed from chalice.				10. Irish Rubric: *full uncovering here* (19 a).	
11. Prayer Oblata; said whilst chalice is raised. [I.e. Diptychs of the dead (a). Post nomina (b).]	[11. Has oblationes, as in C(a) (19 a b). Non-Roman part of Grata sit, ib. (b) (20 a).	11. Immola Deo (Irish B-Tract, 10); (1) Deus qui; Domine Deus (37 b, 38 b);*	11. Oblata: (2) Iteramus (40 b, 41 a): (3) Intende (43 a).	11. Latin Rubric: *Ter canitur*, after α 9; Hostias; Has; Latin Rubric: *second part of Augment here, over the oblata;* i.e., β 11 (1), γ 11 (2) (3); Grata sit (19 b, 20 a).	
		* These Collects seem to be Roman; but, as I have not met them elsewhere, I leave them in this column.			

[12. Preface. Not mentioned.]	[12. Non-Gelasian portion of Preface in C, down to second Excelsis (21 b), remainder to be supplied from Dignum β 12.]	12. Benedictus (21 b); (1) Te omnipotentem; Dignum (38 b, 39 b);	12. Gelasian Preface incorporated into text of C; (2) Vere (41 a, 42 a); (3) Vere (43 a b).	12. Sursum. Vere (20 a, 21 a). Irish Rubric directing γ 12 (2), or (3) to be inserted here; Per quem; Irish Rubric directing β 12 (1) to be inserted in this place; Sanctus, with interpolations (19 a, 21 b).	
[13. Post Sanctus. Not mentioned.]	13. Pro to dignetur, incorporated in C 14 (22 b – 23 b).	13. *Hanc* to *convertas* (25 a, 25 b) – the Gelasian Text. Vere Sanctus (39 b).		13. Given in B α.	
14. Accepit Jesus panem: *periculosa oratio.*	14. Qui pridie (39 b), probably = Clementine + interpolation in C (26 a b).		14. Gelasian Canon (with interpolations) from 22 a down to sæculorum on folio 32 a. Then, Rubrics in C, 14, 16.	14. + Interpolations pointed out in Notes. Latin Rubric: *Ter canitur*, after γ 14.	
[15. Post Secreta. Not mentioned.]	15. Cum to novit (27 b, 31 a 3), – Gregorii to Coemgeni, (30 b 2, 31 a 2).†	15. + *Gregorii* to *Coemgeni*, as in α.			† Folio 31 a is written in three columns; the first and third containing thirteen lines each, the second four. *Et novit* occupies the last line but three of the third column. This spacing was employed on 12 b, 30 a b, and this page, to assist the eye in reading the proper names—a purpose for which it was well adapted.
16. (Celebrant's) Host broken into two parts (*a*); raised over chalice (*b*); one half submerged (*c*). Cf. C.	16. Fiat (32 a) = A 16 (*b*); i.e. B α had but one Fraction, – that in 17.	[16. + A 16 (*a*) (*c*).]		16. Irish Rubric, directing—(*a*) elevation of chief Host over, and (*b*) submersion of one half thereof in, chalice.	[16. The Rubrics (Cod. Rescr.) are = Roman.]
17. Fraction, and cruciform arrangement, of Bread for Communion.	17. Cognoverunt; Panis; Calix (32 a b). [*Calix* shows the Commixture of α took place here.]	[17. + Credimus, as in C.]		17. Irish Rubric: *Here is broken the bread;* α 16 and Cognoverunt of α 17 repeated; Credimus (32 b, 33 a).	
[18. Pater Noster and Embolismus. Not mentioned.]	[18. Erased. To be supplied from C, D.]	[18. + *Patricio*, C, D.]	[18. Gelasian Embolismus as in C, with omissions and interpolation there noted.] Gelasian Canon ends.	18. Pater noster (only these words given); Gelasian Embolismus, with clause concerning Blessed Virgin omitted; Andrew omitted and Patrick inserted (33 a).	18. Same as in C. (Original MS.) Rubric (Codex Rescr.) = C 16 (*a*).
[19. Pax. Not mentioned.]	[19. Pax (Codex Rescriptus) (33 a b), same as in D.]		19. + Commixtio (33 b).	19. Pax; Pacem (33 a b).	19. Pax (Orig. MS.) Rubric (Cod. Rescr.) = second portion (*b*) of C 16.
[20. Communion.] [End.]	[20. Vide C 20, and restore Text from D.]			20. Scripture excerpts and two quatrains arranged as Antiphons (33 b, 35 a). Moelcaich scripsit.	20. Same arrangement as in C (Cod. Rescr.).
[21. Post Communion.]	21. Gratias (35 b).	21. (3) Oremus (43 b, 44 a).	21. Quos (35 b): (1) Sumpsimus (39 b): (2) Deus qui (42 a):		21. Quos; Gratias. (Orig. MS.)
[22. Dismissal.]	22. Missa acta est in pace (36 a).				[Fragment ends.]

With reference to the Title *Hiberno-Gallican*, no perfect monument of the Gallican Liturgy, it is well known, has been yet discovered. Of the variable portions much has been preserved in five (so-called) Missals.* The Ordo, or fixed contents, and the Rubrics have totally disappeared. Here, on the contrary, we have a Mass almost complete from beginning to end. To some extent, therefore, the existing lacunæ can be supplied from the present source. This, however, is a purely liturgical question, outside the limits of the Paper.

I direct attention to the absence of a feature which the Gallican possessed in common with ancient Eastern and Western Liturgies. No trace of the distinction between the Missa Catechumenorum and the Missa Fidelium can be discovered. This is the principal modification, and the evidence available connects the change with St. Patrick himself.

In the beginning, as we learn from the Book of Armagh,† adult Baptism, as a rule, was administered after a profession of Faith. Fuller instruction was given subsequently. Nor is this contradicted by the Rubric: *Huc usque Catacominus* in the Ordo Baptismi (adultorum) given in the present MS.‡ For the generic equivalent, *lelachaich* (*postulant*), supplied in the native Rubric by the original hand on the preceding folio, is a reliable testimony that in Ireland *catechumenus* from the first only meant a person on whom this portion of the Rite was being conferred. That the term implied no restriction of age is placed beyond doubt by the nineteenth Canon of the Second Council of St. Patrick:—§

[19. *Qua ætate baptizandi sunt.*]

Octavo die chatechumeni sunt, postea solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha et Pentecoste et Epiphania.

Coming to a later time, no mention is made of Catechumens in what

* Reichenau, Bobio, Gothic, Gallican and Frankish.

† Note G.

‡ Fol. 50 b.

§ Spelman, Councils, p. 58. The title was prefixed by Spelman.

may be called the Ceremonial of the Cathedral Church of Armagh, as set forth in the Liber Angeli.*

Still more recently, Cormac Mac Culennain, himself a Bishop, did not include the vocable in his Glossary of Irish Words.

The forms *Cathchomnidi* and *Chadchoimnidi* are found glossing *catacomini* in the Turin Fragments of St. Jerome's Commentary on St. Mark.† But the word was merely formed from the Latin by adding the Irish termination. It was coined on purpose by the glossarist, and never passed into the popular speech.

The Catechumenate, we have accordingly to conclude, was not adopted into the Early Irish Church.

Finally, we are in a position to estimate the value of the MS. as a contribution to our knowledge of the ancient National Liturgy. The threefold Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland dates at latest from an early part of the eighth century. The document is an original authority. It has been published from different MSS. by Ussher and Fleming.‡ The readings of the portions with which we are concerned vary considerably in both Texts.

(1). PRIMUS ORDO.—A.D. 432–544.

U.	F.
Habebant unam missam, unam celebrationem.	(Habentes) unam celebrationem missae.

(2). SECUNDUS ORDO.—A.D. 544–598.

Diversas missas celebrabant et diversas regulas.	Diversos celebrandi ritus habebant.
A Davide episcopo et Gilla et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt.	Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a Sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet, a S. David et a S. Gilda et a S. Doco.

* Note H.

† Glossae Hibernicae veteres Codicis Taurinensis. Edidit Constantinus Nigra, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1869, pp. 7, 9. Zimmer: Gloss. Hib., p. 202.

‡ Ussher: Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Wks. vi. pp. 477–9. Fleming: Col. Sacra, pp. 430–1.

(3). TERTIUS ORDO.—A.D. 598-664.

Diversas regulas et missas habebant.	Diversas regulas et diversos celebrandi ritus habebant.

The writer of F., the later copy, took *missam*, *celebrationem* and *missas*, *regulas* to be a hendiadys. That this was a mere guess is proved by the insertion of *diversas regulas* in (3). The U-Text, on the contrary, is consistent throughout; and, assuming that *celebratio* is employed in its technical sense to signify celebration of the Office, the meaning is clear. The first Order had but one Liturgical rite and one rule for performance of the Office; the second and third had divers rites for the Mass, and different regulations for the celebration of the Canonical Hours.

That *celebrad* (= *celebratio*) meant the carrying out of the daily Office is well-established from Irish sources.* That various Rules were in practice regarding the method of execution, we have on record, to mention but one reliable authority, the express testimony of St. Columbanus: De Synaxi, ergo, id est, de cursu psalmorum et orationum modo canonico, quaedam sunt distinguenda, quia varie a diversis memoriae de eo traditum est.†

Thus understood, we have the *una Missa* of the first Order represented by B $\alpha + \beta$ (13); the *diversæ Missæ* of the second and third Orders by the *una Missa;* B $\alpha + \beta$; B $\alpha\ \beta + \gamma$.

Furthermore, the *Missa Patricii* of the Book of Armagh‡ is to be equated with B α.

Against the exclusion of β from the Mass of St. Patrick, it may be put forward that the Collect *Deum* in 4 (1) contains phrases corresponding with those in the Lorica of St. Patrick. This parallelism, no doubt, is very valuable towards establishing the authenticity of the Irish Hymn; but it does not suffice to outweigh the facts mentioned above. In the first place, the Recension of B α does briefly what β does diffusely; secondly, no Augment of the kind has been preserved respecting the National Apostle;

* Note I.

† Bib. Max. Patr., ubi sup.

‡ Missam Patricii acceperunt. Fol. 13 b 1.

and, finally, it was a method of commemoration with which St. Columba was unacquainted: that is to say, α, not β or γ, was employed in Iona.

The celebration of a Saint's festival did not, therefore, it is important to bear in mind, imply the use of a special Collect, much less of a *missa propria*, in the Early Irish Church.

To sum up: the importance of the Missal and Tract lies herein, that they present the Texts, and data for discrimination, of the various Masses current in Ireland from the introduction of Christianity to the middle of the eighth century: rescuing from oblivion, and rendering it feasible to adjust, the forms in which Liturgy found expression in the Irish Church during the golden era of her sanctity and learning.

The remaining observations will be most conveniently divided under the different Titles.

A.

1. The preparation for the Liturgy is not mentioned in B, C, D. The omission shows this portion of the Rite to have been traditional, and is an evidence of antiquity. That it was a Gallican feature can be seen in the extracts from the old Missals of Chalons and Auxerre, quoted by Martene.* From Adamnan we learn that it was the Deacon's office to prepare what was necessary before the celebration commenced.† The old Penitentials which assign punishment to the neglect of the duty are in substantial and verbal agreement with the Rubrics preserved in the Irish Tract.‡

6. *Bigradual Psalm.* That *Psalm* (*Salm*) in Irish signified, in addition to the usual meaning, an intercessory prayer, can be inferred from a line in the Calendar of Oengus, Sep. 11: *Sillan, salm cech lobuir*—(St.) Sillan, the psalm of (*i. e.*, whose name is invoked for aid by) every sick person. Thus the Title can include the Litany as well as the verses of the Palms given in this place.

14. *Periculosa oratio.* The statement that the Qui pridie, or Consecration formula, was so called is borne out by the Penitentials of Gildas, Cummian, and Halitgar.§ The wording of Gildas—ubi adnotatur periculum—

* Note K. † Note L. ‡ Note M. § Note N.

clearly implies that a note stood on the margin of the Missal, opposite the opening words of the Institution.

17. *Fraction and Cruciform Arrangement.* The process so elaborately described here has been found in no other Western Missal. Something similar is given in the Libellus of Eldephonsus, quoted by Martene; but in multiplied detail and wealth of symbolism it falls far short of the Irish method. As throwing light on this passage, I have subjoined it.* The principle was partially condemned in the third Canon of the Second Council of Tours (A.D. 567): Ut Corpus Domini in altari non in imaginario modo, sed sub crucis titulo, componatur.†

B.

a. The date of these portions of this Recension can be determined approximately. The structure is the first evidence of antiquity, and it adds new interest to the Missal. The word *Libellus* is twice employed to signify a Missal by St. Gregory of Tours.‡ Probably because he had never seen such a book, Du Cange has not described it. Zaccaria§ quotes Georgius, a liturgical writer, who says the *libellus* of Gregory meant a collection made from larger books, to be used on certain solemn occasions.

But here, at length, we light upon the true explanation. This is the only MS. hitherto discovered that has preserved the primitive form and size of the Gallican Mass-book. Column *a* consisted of about ten such leaves as are found in this *little book*—a number quite sufficient to contain all the Liturgy originally in use. It is scarcely necessary to observe, accordingly, that Gregory called the Missal a *libellus* κατ' ἐξοχήν.

The internal evidences of antiquity are so apparent and conclusive that it is needless to do more than state them formally.

The absence of a Calendar marks this Ordo Missæ as older than the Leonine Sacramentary of the fifth century, which has different Masses for Sundays and other ecclesiastical divisions of (a portion of) the year.

The use of a fixed Epistle and Gospel indicates a time before the intro-

* Note O.

† Acta Conc. Paris, 1725, III. 358.

‡ Note P.

§ Bibliotheca Ritualis, Romae, 1776, Tom. I. cap. 3, art. 8, p. 75.

duction of variable Lessons. This, it is believed, took place in the first quarter of the fifth century.

The absence of special Collects and Prefaces for individual Saints shows the Mass to be prior in time to the portion of the Reichenau Palimpsest containing the Missa for Germanus of Auxerre. The Saint died in 448.

On the other hand, the absence of any allusion to persecution, such as the pathetic expressions in a *Contestatio* of the Gallican Liturgy,* proves that it cannot date farther back than the middle or end of the fourth century. The *most pious Emperors* would thus be Arcadius and Honorius.

The time in which B was transcribed can be fixed with tolerable accuracy by the List of Names in the *Cum omnibus.* The most modern Saint there mentioned, as far as I can determine, is Justus, fourth Archbishop of Canterbury. His death took place in the November of 627. Allowing for the lapse of a few months before the news of his demise reached this country, we have the beginning of 628 as the year before which the transcription of the older portion of the Missal could not have been executed. We can, accordingly, assign the second quarter of the seventh century as the period in which the B-Recension was copied. With exception of β 15, the Compilation, the time of Gelasius shows, can date back to A.D. 500.

α 6. *Dicamus.* The Title of this Litany given in C in all likelihood means no more than that it was used in the Church of Tours. For it is given without any mention of St. Martin in a Fulda Missal quoted by Cardinal Bona.†

β 13. *Hanc—convertas.* The Prayer that the founder of the Church may be converted from idolatry was manifestly composed before the extinction of heathenism. Its evidence, however, does not stand alone with reference to the Church in Ireland. The foundation of Armagh itself, as we learn from the graphic account of the donation in the Book of Armagh and in the Tripartite, was owing to the generosity of a pagan.‡

* Missa V. Miss. Rich. Mone: Lat. u. Griech. Messen, Frankfurt, 1850, pp. 24–5.

† Rerum Liturgicarum, lib. ii., cap. iv., § iii. Op. omnia, Antverp. 1676, p. 317.

‡ Note Q.

Furthermore, one of the Canons of the first Synod of St. Patrick is evidence that similar grants were of such frequency as to demand legislative regulation.

[24. *De advena plebem ingrediente.*]

Si quis advena ingressus fuerit plebem, non ante baptizet neque offerat, nec consecret, nec Ecclesiam aedificet, [do]nec permissionem accipiat ab Episcopo: nam qui a gentibus sperat permissionem, alienus sit.*

This, with three others of kindred scope from other sources, was incorporated in the Irish Collection.† From β 13 we find that the occasion for these enactments had not passed away at the beginning of the seventh century.

The Prayer in the Text is consequently older than the date of the transcription and of the compilation, and may, not unlikely, have had reference to one of those against whom the thirty-first Canon in the second Synod of St. Patrick was directed.

[31. *De gentilibus qui ante baptismum*[*o*] *credunt quam pœnitentiam habeant.*]

Remittuntur quidem omnium peccata in baptismo; sed qui cum fideli conscientia infidelem [lis] tempor[arius] vixit, ut fidelis peccator judicandus est.‡

This would explain the apparent contradiction of calling the founder *famulus tuus*, and in the next breath praying that he may be turned from the worship of idols. Be that as it may, the Prayer undoubtedly refers to the national Church, and carries us back, if not to its inception, to a very early period of its existence.

C.

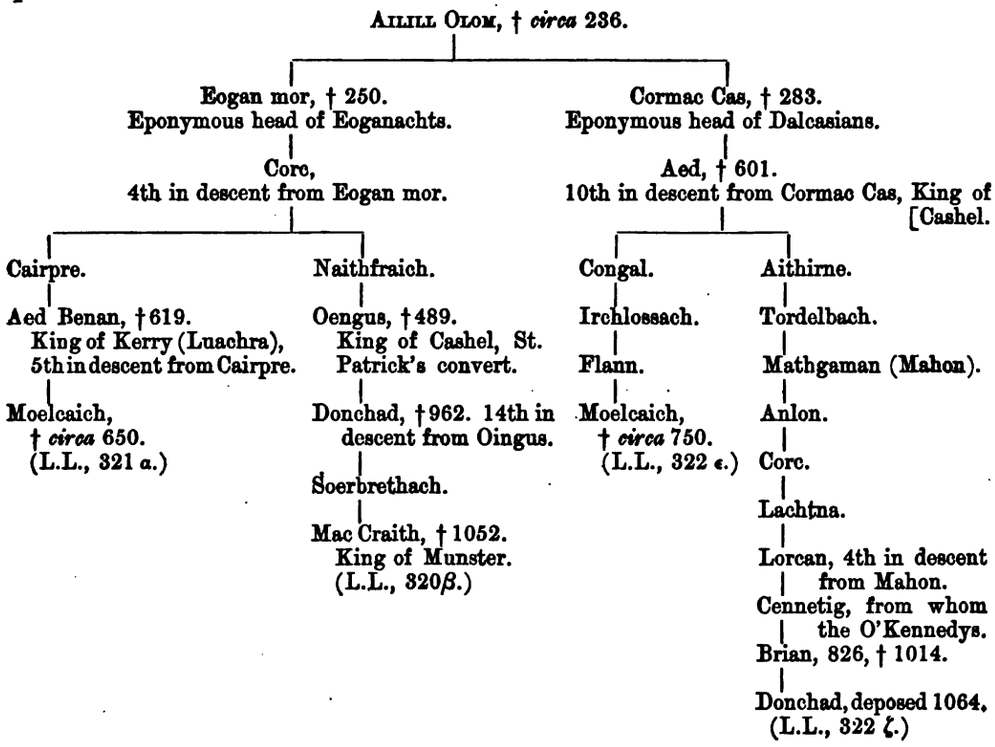
2. *Sancte Stephane, etc.* The Additions made to the Litany of the Saints enable us to assign the earliest date at which this Recension can have been composed. The latest Saint mentioned, as far as I know, is Samthan, Virgin, of Clonbroney, Co. Longford. Her death took place in 739. I find no evidence of a more modern origin than the middle of the

* Spelman, I. 53. The title is Spelman's. † Note R. ‡ Spelman, *ut sup.* 59.

eighth century. I pass by the insertion of *Filioque* in the Creed. That addition was formally adopted at the Council of Toledo in 653. With the intercourse existing between this country and the Continent, who will deny that it could have been brought hither well within a century from that time?

Independent confirmation of this date is afforded by the entry at folio 35 a: Moelcaich scripsit. Who was Moelcaich? "I can find no mention of this personage in any of our records," says Dr. Todd.* There was, he adds, a Moelcaich son of Aed Benan, who, he rightly concludes, could not have been the Scribe.

The following Table, compiled, with exception of the dates, from the Book of Leinster† will, I am of opinion, contribute towards deciding the question:—



* Ubi sup., p. 18. † Lith. Ed., 319–22, 336.

In Moelcaich, son of Flann, we have, I submit, the author of the C-Recension. First, he was an ecclesiastic, not unlikely a bishop; nobody, except a person entitled to use it, could have had any motive to re-arrange the Missal. Besides, his was a mere pedigree: the name forms a barren branch on the genealogical tree.

Next, the time accords well. The fourth in descent from Aed, who died at the opening of the seventh century, must have lived towards the middle of the eighth.

Lastly and chiefly, Moelcaich not alone belonged to the Dalcasian stem, but was himself eligible to be elected King of Cashel—perhaps even of Munster. Herein lay the reason why the book became an heirloom and was enshrined in the chief line, and redecorated when it passed into possession of the junior branch. It was, namely, the relic of a family saint.

The spirit of clanship so reprehensibly exhibited in the old Irish monastic system appears in instances like the present in a far more commendable guise. The retention of the ruling monopoly in the founder's family was due to considerations other than religious: to employ gems and precious metals and to invoke the aid of the fine arts, in the preparation of a fitting receptacle for the memorials of a saintly kinsman, could have arisen from no motives that were sordid;—must have been inspired by a generous devotion and an educated taste.

I now proceed to such of the Rubrics as require a more detailed explanation.

3. *Hæc oratio in omni missa cantatur* (13 b). This signifies that *Ascendat* (B α 3) was always to be said; whilst others, like the *Deus qui* (γ 3), were employed only on some occasions.

4. *Quotidianis diebus* (14 a) would be at present *ferialibus diebus*, ferial days; on which, namely, neither solemn festivals nor anniversaries of saints fell. The expression occurs in the *Libellus* of Eldephonsus and in the Gallican Missals, with the same meaning.

Hic augmentum (*ib.*), that is, the Augment, as shown in B β4, γ4, is to be inserted here, when occasion required, from the Proper (1) of Saints, (2) of the living, or (3) of the dead.

7. *Lethdirech sund* (17 a), half uncovering here.

10. *Landirech sund* (19 a), full uncovering here.

These correspond respectively with the Rubrics in A 7, 10. To understand them, it has to be remarked that there were two veils, or coverings, employed. The outer, called *Coopertum Sacramentorum* by Germanus Parisiensis, is defined Coopertorium quo altare dominicum cum oblationibus tegitur by Gregory of Tours.* Both authors agree in describing the material to be silk. It was adorned, Germanus says, with gold work and precious stones.†

The inner veil enveloped the chalice: mappa qua calix involvitur is the definition of Durandus.‡ The expression *palla linostima*, in the *Expositio brevis*, shows it was of linen. At the present day it is usually stiffened.

When, therefore, the outer veil was removed, a *half uncovering* took place; when the inner, a *full uncovering*.

11. *Ter canitur* is explained by the triple repetition of *Amen*, to be found in an Offertorium in the Trinity College copy of the Book of Hymns.§ It was done, probably, in honour of the Trinity; as may be inferred from the individual invocation of the three Persons in blessing the water and wine and bread before the Celebration.

12. *Isund totet* Dignum *in tormaig ind, maid* Per quem *bes inna diudidi* ‖ *thall* (21 a): It is here *Dignum* of the Augment comes into it, if *Per quem* is the Introduction beyond.¶ This means that the Prefaces (called *Dignum* from one of the mnemonic words), in the Proper—(1) of Saints, or (2) living, or (3) dead, to which the mnemonic initial *per quem* [*majestatem tuam*, etc.] is appended, were to be inserted at this place. Such are those for the living and the dead.

Isund totet Dignum *in tormig ind, maid* Sanctus *bess inna diudidi thall* (21 b): It is here *Dignum* of the Augment comes into it, if *Sanctus* is the Introduction beyond. The remaining Prefaces, namely, the Proper of Saints, are

* *De Vit. Patr.*, VIII.

† Cumque jam altarium cum oblationibus pallio serico opertum esset. Greg. VII. 32. Siricum autem ornatur aut aureo vel gemmis. Germani *Expositio brevis*, etc. Martene, I., col. 467.

‡ *Rational.* lib. 1, cap. 3, n. 49. § Note S.

‖ For this idiom, see O'Donovan's Grammar, p. 291, and the examples collected in Windisch, Wört., pp. 608–9.

¶ *Beyond* refers to Augments, at end of Missal.

meant in this Rubric. They contain appropriate formulæ, analogous to *Per quem*, etc.

16. *Isund conogabar ind ablu tuair forsin cailech: ocus fobdidithir leth na bairgine isin cailuch* (32 a): It is here the chief (?) Host is raised over the Chalice: and half of the Bread is submerged in the Chalice. These actions are to be performed whilst Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, etc., is being chanted. The *super* shows when the raising *over* the Chalice was to take place. The Rubric corresponds to A 16, and refers to the Host to be taken by the Celebrant.

17. *Isund conbongar in bairgen* (ib.): It is here the Bread is broken. That is, while Cognoverunt Dominum in fractione panis was being recited. Here, again, *Fractione* was intended to be said at the moment of Fraction. The Rubric represents A 17, and has reference to the Fraction for the general Communion.

21. *Moelcaich scripsit* (35 a): Calvus luscus scripsit. In the St. Gall Priscian,* *caech* glosses *luscus.* That it did not signify *blind* is put beyond dispute by an entry in the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 723) of the death of *Caech Scuile* (luscus scholæ), who was Scribe of Londonderry.

III.—44 b–58 a.

The third Part is an Ordo Baptismi, which I do not intend to deal with at present. Its chief linguistic interest lies in two Irish Rubrics.

Folio 49 a. *Isund doberar in salann imbelu ind lelachaich:* It is here the salt is placed in the mouth † of the postulant. The Rubric stands before *Effeta, quod est apertio*, etc., in the Order for the Baptism of Adults. *Lelachaich* is the genitive singular masculine of *lelachach*, a reduplicated root. Lach, dp licated la(i)lach = lelach. Lelach + ach(aca), the derivative suffix, = lelachach, gen. lelachaich, – ich. The verbal forms of *lach* will be found in Gueterbock and Thurneysen.‡ *Dorothlaichset* is the equivalent in the Tripartite § for *postulaverunt* of the Book of Armagh.‖ In *lelachaich*

* Fol. 24 b., ed. Ascoli, p. 26.

† "Into the lips," literally.

‡ *Indices Grammaticæ Celticæ*, Lipsiæ, 1881, voce *duttluchur*, p. 109.

§ Egerton MS., p. 58.

‖ Fol. 12 a 3.

the Rubric makes an addition to the Irish Vocabulary, the word not being found elsewhere.

Folio 56 a. *Isund dognither intongath:* It is here the Unction is done. This is placed before *Ungo te de oleo et de chrismate.*

IV.—58 a–63 a.

The fourth Part is the Order for Visitation of the Sick.

Attention may be directed to the two concluding pages as most perfect specimens of Irish Angular Caligraphy.

V.—63 b–65 a.

The fifth is the Irish Tract on the Mass, which will be found transcribed and translated in the Appendix.

VI.—65 b.

The sixth consists of three Irish Spells, in great part illegible. The first is for loss of eyesight; the second for a thorn; the last for strangury. In that for the eye, the Gospel of St. John ix. 6, 7, is quoted. But the wonderful reading, *lava manus tuas in Siloe*, given by Mr. Stokes, it is a relief to learn, is not found in the MS. *Lava in natatoria Siloe* can be made out very plainly.

The final folio, it has been already mentioned, was cut away.

Scripsi hunc, ut potui, librum; pulsare conetur
Omnis quicumque legerit, ut evadere poena
Ad cœlum valeam, et ad summi premia regni,
Patricio Dominum pulsante, habitare per aevum.*

* Lib. Armach., fol. 18 b 2.

A.—"*Middle Irish Corruptions.*"

"The Latin portion of the manuscript seems to me to have been written partly in the eighth, partly in the tenth or eleventh century. The Irish tract and the spells cannot have been written before the tenth century, and were probably transcribed in the eleventh or twelfth. For we find therein the following Middle-Irish corruptions: [1] *-o* for *-u* (baullo, gnimo, firto, esergo); [2] *-oth*, *-od* for *-uth*, *-ud* (suidigoth, fobdod, slocod); [3] *úi* for the diphthong *ói* (ro-búi, cuic, tuib); [4] *ae* for the umlaut *ai* (caelech, ro-saegeth); [5] *a* for *e* (*ca*dacht); [6] *a* for *o* (fathri); [7] *e* for *i* (for-sen, in-sen, ro-saegeth); [8] *g* for *c* (corrigi, enngaib); [9] *d* for *t* (cuaird); [10] *nd* for *nn* (brond); [11] inorganic infection of *c* after the gen. sg. of a fem-*iā*-stem (figor óge chuirp), and after the acc. sg. of the article (frisin chorp); [12] *crann* for the dat. sg. *crunn*; and [13] pleonastic use of the possessive pronoun (a slocod inparsa). But, as a rule, the language is that of the Zeussian glosses, and the scribe may therefore have copied from an Old-Irish codex."*

With reference to the statement that the older portion of the Latin was written three centuries before the transcription of the Tract and Spells, the Plate will assist in determining whether or not the first hand executed 2 and 3; the second, 4 and 5.

That the Irish Texts cannot have been written before the tenth century is a conclusion proceeding from the assumption that corruptions like the twelve set out above are not to be found in national MSS. anterior to that date. This narrows the issue to a question of fact. The following is compiled from documents, none of which is later than the ninth century; and on two of which (Sg., Wb.) Zeuss mainly based the Irish part of the Grammatica Celtica:—

1. *o* for *u*: ebreo, Ml. 27 d, iudeo, 35 a; deo, Sg. 217 b; lao, Wb. 4 b; lobro, 17 b.

* *The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal*, by Whitley Stokes. Kuhn and Schmidt's *Zeitschrift*, vol. 26, part 5. Berlin, 1882, p. 498.

2. *-oth*, *-od* for *-uth*, *-ud:* dondirsolcoth, Wb. 22d; aidbligod, Sg. 216 a.

3. *úi* for the diphthong *ói:* euit, Ml. 32d; seúit, Ar. 17b1, socheniúil, 18a2.

4. *ae* for the umlaut *ai:* saethir, Dim. fol. ult.; aedocht, Ar. 17a2.

5. *a* for *e:* cadecht, Ml. 19b, catecht, 30b.

6. *a* for *o:* fa dess, fa thuaith, Wb. 29a.

7. *e* for *i:* lemm, Wb. 4b, lenn, 4a: rosaegeth is correct; = rosaegati, fem. i-stem. The accusative, cen saigith, is given in the preceding sentence of the Tract.

8. *g* for *c:* chumgai, Ml. 19b; frithorgon, Cam. Pl. x; ingecht, Cr. 48 b.

9. *d* for *t:* cuaird, Ml. 25 a.

10. *nd* for *nn:* trindoti, Ml. 2d, 15b.

11. Inorganic infection of *c:* ichomus, Cam. Pl. vii., ar chruche, Pl. viii., foditu chruche, Pl. xi.

12. *Crann* for dat. sg. *crunn: crann* is correct; *hi* (in) here governs (not the dative, but) the accusative. Compare hi linannart, hi cailech, hicocell, hirruna in the Tract.

13. Pleonastic use of the possessive pronoun: a ainm indfirso, Ml. 23d; a oiph in forcitil, Wb. 7c.

Ar., Book of Armagh, in Trinity College; Cam., Cambray Codex, Cooper's Supplement to Appendix A, Plates vii.–xii.; Cr., Carlsruhe Priscian, Ed. Zimmer, *Glossæ Hibernicæ*, Berlin, 1881; Dim., Book of Dimma, in Trinity College; Ml., Milan *Columbanus*, Ed. Ascoli, 1878; Sg., St. Gall Priscian, Ed. Ascoli, 1880; Wb., Würzburg St. Paul, Ed. Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.*

B.—*The term "Mind"* (pronounced *Meen*).

As specimens of the assistance given in the so-called Dictionaries towards the elucidation of Irish Texts, it may not be out of place to set down their explanations of *Mind.* O'Davoren's Glossary (1569): "Minn .i. uasal no sui"; noble, or a sage. O'Clery's Vocabulary (1643): "Minnech .i. breg"; a lie. O'Brien's Dictionary (1768): "Minneach, a lye. Mionn, the head, the scull, or the crown of the head. Ex. *dar mionnaibh na Naomh*, by the heads of the saints; hence the word *mionn* is adopted to signify a holy Relick; and hence it signifies an Oath, or solemn protestation made before God and man, because, immediately after the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, they usually swore solemnly by the Relicks of the Saints. Ex. *tug se na mionna*, he took his oath, or, literally, he swore by the Relicks. *Droich-mhionna*, perjury, *Mionn Riogdha*, a diadem, or a regal crown."

Mionn = the head, etc., is beneath notice. It arose from confusion of *mind* with *mind* = *mo ind*, pronounced *meen.* Lurech De du mimdegail, ota *mind* gom bond: God's corslet to protect me from *my crown* unto my sole. (Zimmer, *Gloss Hib.*, p. 265.)

O'Reilly (1817) deserves to be quoted in full. "Mind, s. m., a crown, a diadem. Mindech, a. lying, false, deceptious; 'on ni is mendax; *i. e.*, brecach, Cor.' [from mendax, that is, lying. Cormac's Glossary]." To attribute this derivation to him is a cruel libel on Cormac, who has not given the word at all! Farther on, O'Reilly gives nine vocables, as follows:—"Mionn, s. m., a holy relick; mionn, s. f., purity, cleanness; mionn, s. f., glass; mionn, s. f., a bell; mionn, s. m., an oath; mionn, s. m., a chieftain; mionn, s. m., a crown, a diadem; mionn, s. m., the crown of the head; mionna, s., an oath." "Alles ohne Belege." (Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* I. 97.)

The following shows the original meaning and modification of the word:—Mind, neut. i-stem. Sg. Dat. don mind, gloss on *insigni*, in Milan *Columbanus*, 25 d; Ac. mind, gloss on *deadema*, Turin Fragment, Nigra, p. 13, mind nabstalacte (*insigne apostolatus*), gloss on Gal. vi. 17, in Würzburg St. Paul, 20 d; Pl. Nom. and Ac., with termination omitted, mind[e], gloss on *insignia*, Ml. 18 d (Nom.); Carlsruhe Bede, 41 c (Ac.)

In the Calendar of Oengus, *mind* is used figuratively. One example will suffice: Scoithine, mind mairce: Scoithine, diadem of Mairge (Jan. 2).

The two subjoined quotations and their quaint English renderings will sufficiently show the meaning of the term in Hagiology and its present application.

ANNALS OF ULSTER, A.D. 552.

Tri minna uaisle do fagbhail isin adhnacal .i. in Coach, ocus Soiscela ind aingil, ocus Clocc in oidechta. Is amlaidhso ro fhoghail int aingel do Colum cille inna .iii. minna.

—REEVES, *Adamnan*, p. 326.

OLD ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

Three precious swearing reliques were found in the tomb, viz., the relique Coach [Cup], the angell's Gospell, and the bell called Clog uidhechta [Bell of the Will]. The angell thus showed to Columbkille how to divide these.

—O'DONOVAN, *Annals*, p. 189.

FOUR MASTERS, A.D. 1143.

A mhac fein .i. Ruaidhri, do ergabhail la Toirrdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair tar sarughadh laech ocus cleireach, mind ocus comairgeadh.

—O'DONOVAN, p. 1070.

MAGEOGHAGAN'S TRANSLATION.

King Terlagh took his son prisoner (his name was Rowrie O'Conor, he that was afterwards King of Ireland); after that he gave him protection before upon these oaths and securities following.

—*Ib.*

C.—*Mone's Criteria for fixing the date of Mass* ad prohibendum ab idolis.

"(Die Messe) *ad prohibendum ab idolis* . . . zum Neujahrstag gehört. Die Messe hat Gelasius, Gregor nicht, das gothische Messbuch . . . hat sie auch nicht, sondern nur im Contexte noch die Worte: *quos error gentilitatis involvit*, welche aber mehr die auswärtigen Heidenvölker als die Ueberbleibsel des Heidenthums im Innern der christlichen Völker betreffen. Noch im fünften Jahrhundert hatten die Römer heidnische Neujahrsgebräuche und Leo I. bekämpte dergleichen Ueberbleibsel des Heidenthums, daher Gelasius Rechte hatte, eine besondere Messe dagegen vorzuschreiben.* Da die Franken erst im sechsten Jahrhundert Christen wurden, so ist begreiflich, dass eine Sammlung von Messen, welche in Gallien während des siebenten Jahrhunderts

* Leon. M., sermo 84, wirft den Römern vor: *plus impenditur dæmoniis quam apostolis.*

gemacht wurde, noch Grund genug hatte, die Gelasianische Messe gegen die Ueberbleibsel des Heidenthums aufzunehmen. Im achten Jahrhundert konnte sie bereits unnöthig scheinen und wegbleiben, wie im gothischen Messbuch."—*Lateinische u. Griechische Messen*, von F. J. Mone, Frankfurt am Main, 1850, p. 118.

D.—MABILLON'S *Account of the Dispute between Agrestius and the Monks of Luxeuil.*

Ann. Chr. 623, xxxvi. Matisconensis Synodus in causâ Agrestii Monachi.

Sub finem anni sequentis, indicta Matisconem synodo, Gallicani e Burgundia episcopi jussu Chlotharii istuc in suburbano loco frequentes convenerunt ad finiendam Agrestii cum Luxoviensibus monachis controversiam. . . . .

Turbantur omnes, sciscitanturque Agrestium, quid contra regulam beati Columbani dicere, quid objicere vellet Eustasio. At ille trementibus labiis, cum nihil sani aut solidi afferre posset, superflua quædam et canonicæ institutioni contraria in Luxoviensium ritibus haberi causatur: nempe quod cochleare cum lamberent vasaque et pocula, signo crucis crebro signarent; quod ingredientes egredientesque quamlibet monasterii cellulam benedictionem postularent; in summa quod a cæterorum ritu ac norma desciscerent, et sacra missarum solemnia orationum et collectarum multiplici varietate celebrarent.

Hæ decantatæ erant æmulorum querelæ tempore Theodorici regis, cujus notarius fuerat Agrestius. Eustasius ad hæc: "Vestrum est," inquit, "o Patres, discernere utrum hæc objecta quidquam contineant, quod religioni, scripturarumque auctoritati adversetur. An vero religioni contrarium, si cochleare, quod lambit Christianus, vel quodcumque vas aut poculum signetur signo crucis per quam humani generis hostis victus, ejusque pestis depulsa est? Quid autem contra rectos mores, immo quid magis Psalmistæ votis consentaneum, quam unumquemque monachum, sive cellulam ingreditur sive egreditur, seu quovis progreditur, signo crucis muniri, vel benedictione sodalium roborari? Orationum porro multiplicationem in sacris officiis multum prodesse quis neget? Cum et orationi sine intermissione vacare nobis ex divino præcepto incumbat, et quo plus Dominus quæritur, plus inveniatur; nihilque cuivis Christiano, et maxime pænitentibus, salubrius sit, quam Deum multiplicatione precum et orationum assiduitate pulsare."

His responsis confutatus et turbatus Agrestius, nihil habuit quo dicta refelleret: tantum adjecit garrulus calumniator, Luxovienses a cæterorum normâ desciscere, qui comam novâ ratione tondeant, novam coronæ formam exprimant, scilicet ab aure in

aurem per frontem in dimidiatæ coronæ modum cæso capillo, sed ab aure in aurem per occipitium intonso; quæ Hibernorum seu Scottorum tonsura erat.

Talia effutienti homini indignatus Eustasius: "Ego," inquit, "ejus discipulus et successor, cujus tu disciplinam et instituta carpis, in præsentia tantorum sacerdotum, intra finem anni vertentis te ad divinum voco judicium, acturum cum ipso, experturumque ejus sententiam et ultionem, cujus famulum tuis conviciis et calumniis lacerare et infamare audes.

Ad hæc quidam ex Agrestianis metu perculsi sunt: omnes vero hortantur ambos, ut, offensa deposita, alter alteri reconciliaretur; et Agrestius quidem conceptæ temeritatis audaciam abjiceret; Eustasius vero paterno affectu lapsum reciperet, et piis ad emendationem correptionibus provocaret. Quibus Eustasius se eorum precibus ex animo acquiescere paratum esse respondit, nisi Agrestii obfirmata contumacia omne correctionis remedium excluderet. Instantibus nihilo minus cunctis, cum pacem, quamvis ficte et simulate, petiisset Agrestius, petenti Eustasius indulget, osculumque porrigit.

Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti . . . auctore Domno Johanne Mabillon, tom. i., pp. 320–321.

E.—*Extract from* ADAMNAN, *describing St. Columba's Method of Commemorating a Saint in the Liturgy.*

De angelorum visione sanctorum qui Sancti Columbani, episcopi, Mocu Loigse, animam ad cœlum evexerant.

Quadam itidem die, dum fratres, se calceantes, mane ad diversa monasterii opera ire præpararent, sanctus e contra ea die otiari præcipit, sacræque oblationis obsequia præparari, et aliquam, quasi in Dominico, prandioli adjectionem fieri. Meque, ait, hodie, quamlibet indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animæ, quæ hac in nocte inter angelorum choros vecta, ultra siderea cœlorum spatia ad paradisum ascendit, sacra oportet Eucharistiæ celebrare mysteria.

Et his dictis fratres obsequuntur, et, juxta sancti jussionem, eadem ociantur die; præparatisque sacris, ad ecclesiam, ministeriis quasi die solenni albati cum sancto pergunt. Sed forte, dum inter talia cum modulatione officia illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio, in qua Sancti Martini commemoratur nomen, subito sanctus ad cantores, ejusdem onomatis ad locum pervenientes: Hodie, ait, pro Sancto Columbano, episcopo, decantare debetis.

Tunc omnes qui inerant fratres intellexere quod Columbanus, episcopus Lagenensis, carus Columbæ amicus, ad Dominum emigraverit. Et post alicujus temporis intervallum, aliqui de Lagenica commeantes provincia ea nocte eundem obiisse nunciant episcopum qua sancto ita revelatum est. III. 12.

F.—*Prayer of Colga Ua Duinechda*, † 796.

YELLOW BOOK OF LECAN, T. C. D. H. 2. 16, COL. 336.	TRANSLATION.
Ateoch frit, a Isu nóib, do iiii suiscelaige ro scribsad do shoscelai comdheta .i. Matha, Mairco, Lucas, Ióin.	I beseech with thee, O Jesus holy, thy four Evangelists who wrote thy Gospel divine, to wit, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.
Ateoch frit do iiii primfhaide rothirchansatar th' inchollugug (sic), Daniel, ocus Erimias, ocus Essias, ocus Ezechel.	I beseech with thee thy four chief prophets who foretold thy Incarnation, Daniel, and Jeremias, and Isaias and Ezechiel.
Ateoch frit viiii ngrada na heclaise talmanta, o salmchedlaid co hesscubaide.	I beseech with thee the nine grades of the Church earthly, from psalmsinger to episcopate.
Ateoch frit ina huile thuicsenchu arroedatar na grada sin o thossuch nuad fhiadnaise cosaníu, ocus arfoemad o'ndiu co laithe in mhesa.	I beseech with thee all the elect who received those grades from the beginning of the new Testament to to-day, and who shall receive them from to-day to the day of the judgment.
Ateoch frit viiii ngrada na heclaise nemdha .i. aingle ocus archangle, virtutes, potestates, principatus, dominationes, troin, irrophin, saropín.	I beseech with thee the nine grades of the Church celestial, to wit, angels and archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominations, thrones, cherubim, seraphim.
Ateoch frit na da uasalaithrech déc rothaircnatar tres na ruinib spirdaldaib.	I beseech with thee the twelve noble fathers (patriarchs) who foretold thee through the spiritual mysteries.
Ateoch frit na da mhinfáidh déc rotflugraidsetar.	I beseech with thee the twelve minor prophets who figured thee.
Ateoch frit na da apstal déc rotcarsatar, ocus rotailsetar ocus rotsechsetar ocus rotlensatar ocus roróegatar recach.	I beseech with thee the twelve apostles, who loved thee, and who desired thee, and who adhered to thee, and who followed thee, and who chose thee before everyone.

Ateoch frit th'uli maccu ina firoige in domuin uile, etir fetarlaice ocus nuadfhiadnaise, im Eoin maccan, im do bruinde dalta uadessin.

Ateoch frit na huile noebu aithrigechu im Petar napstol.

Ateoch frit hule noeb inghena ógha in uile domuin, im Muire óig, imot noeb mathair uadessin.

Ateoch frit na huile fhedbai aithrigecha im Muire Magdalena.

Ateoch frit huile lochta in chomamais dligtheig, im Iob nimnedach, forsa tarta fóichide.

Ateoch frit huile noeb martire in domuin uile, etir fetarlaicc ocus nuadfhiadnaise, ó thosach in betha corice Helíí ocus Enoc, fodhemad in marthra ndeighenaig fri bruinde in bratha; im Stefan, im Chornil, im Chiprian, im Laurint, im Geurgi, im German.

Ateoch frit na huile noeb manchu romiltnigsetar erut sechnon in domuin uile, im Eliam ocus im Elesium i petarlaicc; im Eóin, im Pol, im Anton in nua fiadnaise.

Ateoch frit huile thuicsenchu rechta aicnid, im Aibel, im Sheth, im Heli, im Enoc, im Nói, im Abraham, im Isaác, im Iacob.

Ateoch frit huili thuicsenchu rechta litre, im Moysi, im Iesu, im Chalep, im Aron, im Elizar, im Ionass.

I beseech with thee all thy sons of true virginity of the whole world, both of the old Law and the New Testament, around John the youth, around thy bosom child himself.

I beseech with thee all the saints penitent, around Peter, Apostle.

I beseech with thee all the female saints, virgins, of the whole world around Mary, Virgin, around thy holy mother herself.

I beseech with thee all the widows penitent around Mary Magdalen.

I beseech with thee all the folk of lawful wedlock, around Job the suffering, on whom was sent tribulation.

I beseech with thee all holy martyrs of the whole world, both of the old Law and the new Testament, from beginning of the world to Eli and Enoch, who shall suffer the final martyrdom on the brink of the judgment; around Stephen, around Cornelius, around Cyprian, around Lawrence, around George, around Germanus.

I beseech with thee all the holy monks who battled for thee throughout the whole world, around Elias and around Eliseus in the old Law; around John, around Paul, around Antony in the New Testament.

I beseech with thee all the chosen of the law of nature, around Abel, around Seth, around Eli, around Enoch, around Noah, around Abraham, around Isaac, around Jacob.

I beseech with thee all the chosen of the law of the letter, around Moses, around Jesse, around Caleb, around Aaron, around Eleazar, around Jonas.

Ateoch frit huli thuicsinchu rechta fatha, im Eliam, im Elisium, im David ocus im Sholmain.

I beseech with thee all the chosen of the law of the prophets, around Elias, around Eleseus, around David, and around Solomon.

Ateoch frit huile thuicsenchu rechta nuafiadnaise im do noeb apstalu uadessin ocus im na huile noeb, co deired in domuin.

I beseech with thee all the chosen of the law of the New Testament, around thy own holy apostles, and around all the saints to the end of the world.

Ateoch frit na huile noeb epscopu forothaigsetar in cathraig neclasdagda in Ierusalem, im Iacop ngluinech, im do noeb [b]rathair uadessin.

I beseech with thee all the holy bishops who founded the city ecclesiastical in Jerusalem, around James the kneed, around thine own holy brother.

Ateoch frit na huile noeb epscobu forothaigsetar in cathraig neclastaedha hirRoim, im Lin, im Chleit, im Chlement.

I beseech with thee all the holy bishops who founded the city ecclesiastical in Rome, around Linus, around Cletus, around Clement.

Ateoch frit na uile noeb epscobu forothaigsetar incathraig neclasdaedha in Alexandir, im Mairce suiscealaige.

I beseech with thee all the holy bishops who founded the city ecclesiastical in Alexandria, around Mark, Evangelist.

Ateoch frit na huile noeb epscobu forothaigsetar in cathraig neclasdagda inandiaidh, im Petur napstal.

I beseech with thee all the holy bishops who founded the city ecclesiastical after them, around Peter, Apostle.

Ateoch frit huile noeb noidenu in domuin uile rodamatar croich marttra forut, imon cethrachait ar cet ar dib milib macán rohorta la Hiruath imBethil Iuda; im Chiric macan.

I beseech with thee the holy infants of the whole world who suffered the cross of martyrdom for thee, around the forty above one hundred above two thousand youths who were slain by Herod in Bethel of Juda; around Quiricus the youth.

Ateoch frit huile shlogu ina sean forpthe fhiren fororcansatar a sentataid ocus a forpietad, ocus a firinde forut, im hEligib ipetarlaic; imon sruith senoir forpthe fhirian, im Semion i tossach nuafiadnaise, rotgab for a rigthib ocus glunib ocus uillib

I beseech with thee all the hosts of the old perfect faithful who testified in old age and in perfection and in truth for thee, around Eliasib(?) in the old Law; around the venerable senior, perfect, faithful, around Simeon in the begin-

icbáide umut, conerbairt: Nunc dimitte—Israel [Luc. ii. 29–32].

ning of the New Testament, who took thee on his arms and knees and elbows, rejoicing about thee, so that he said 'Nunc dimitte.' [The rest of the text is the Vulgate.]

Ateoch frit na huile noeb desciplu foroegfoglainsetar (sic) ina fhiadnaise, imon da descipul sechtmogat.

I beseech with thee all the holy disciples who learned the testimony, around the two and seventy disciples.

Ateoch frit ina uile forcetlaige forbthe forforcansatar in sians spirudalda, im Pol napstol.

I beseech with thee all the perfect teachers who proclaimed the spiritual sense, around Paul, Apostle—

Con imragba for greis ocus dítin ocus dethidin, dom imdegail ocus dom imditen ar demnaib cona ulib aslaigib; ocus ar uile dulib in domuin; ar tholaib, ar thargabalaib, ar peodaib, ar imarbasaib, in betha; ar gabthaib in chentair, ar pianaib in altair; do lamaib namut, ocus cena agesta; ar thenid ifirnd ocus bratha; ar enechcreca fiad ghnúis Dé; ar comthetarrachta ndemna, ar na docoemsat ní dún fri hitacht indaltair; ar gaibthib inchentair; ar cech duine romfitir Dia commiduthracht dun fo déc rennaib in domuin.

That thou take me under shelter and protection and care, to secure me and to protect me against demons with all their assaults; and against all the creatures of the world; against the desires, against the transgressions, against the sins, against the offences of the world; against the snares of this life, against the pains of the next; from the hands of enemies and ——? against the fire of hell and judgment; against dishonour before the face of God; against the grasp of demons, that they prevail nought against us towards entering the next life; against the snares of this life; against every person whom God knows (to be possessed) with evil intent for us in the ten parts of the world.

Roscara Dia dun ambruth, ambrig, ambaraind, a crodataid, anamaindse.

May God keep apart from us their fury, their power, their haughtiness, their prowess, their cunning.

Co roadanna Dia cendsa ocus deeirc ocus bóide ocus trocaire, ocus dilgidetaid inacridib ocus inanimraitib ocus inananmaib ocus inamemnaib ocus inanindib.

May God enkindle meekness and charity and love and mercy and affection in their hearts, and in their thoughts, and in their souls, and in their minds, and in their entrails.

I.—*Celebrad* = *Celebration of the Canonical Hours.*

(*a*) WÜRZBURG (*ST. PAUL*).

1 THES. v. 17. *Sine intermissione orate.*

[Ceist c]ate ind irgnig[de] (sic: lege irnigde) cen chumsanad? [Ni anse.] *Dicunt alii* combad [ce]lebrad tratha. [*Quod*] *non est verum.*—Folio 25 c.

[It is a question,] what is the prayer without cessation? [Not difficult.] Some say that it is the Celebration of the Hours. But this is not true.

(*b*) SALTAIR NA RANN.

Ri roraide friu tria rath,
Fri aiffrenn, fri celebrad,
Treb Levi, lerol, cen greis,
Immedon, immon eclais.
—4441–4.

The King, who said to them graciously:—
"For Offering, for Celebration,
"The tribe of Levi, very great, without dispute,
"In the centre, around the Church."

(*c*) CORMAC'S GLOSSARY.

Celebrad .i. honni is celebro .i. urdarcaigim. Celebrad, dino, .i. urdarcaigimm luad anma De.—L. B. 265 a.

Celebrad from the word *Celebro*, that is, I celebrate. *Celebrad*, therefore, namely, I celebrate the praise of the name of God.

(*d*) LEBAR NA HUIDRI.

In tan dognithea celebrad ocus offrend. —10 a.

What time celebration and Mass used to be carried out.

In tan, imorro, robatar lucht curaig Beoain ocimram forsind farrci, co cualatar celebrad aingel fon churuch. Coroiarfaig Beoan: cid diata in celebradsa, for se? —40 b.

What time, howbeit, the crew of the coracle of Beoan were faring o'er the ocean, they heard the celebration of angels beneath the coracle. So that Beoan asked: whence is this celebration? quoth he.

(*e*) BOOK OF LEINSTER.

Oc celebrad iarmerge ina eclais.—282 a.

At celebrating nocturn in his church.

Gebatsa, chetus, or fer dib, na tri coiodu, cech dia, la celebrad mo thrath ocus la aiffrend cech dia. Gebaitsa, dano, or araile, tri coictu ernaigthi, la celebrad mo thrath ocus la aiffrend cech dia. Gebatsa, dano, or in tres fer, tri coictu *Ymnum dicat* cech dia, la celebrad mo thrath, ocus la offrend cach dia.—283 a.

I will recite, in the first place, quoth a man of them, the three fifties [*i. e.* 150 Psalms] each day, with celebration of my hours, and with mass each day. I will recite, moreover, quoth another, thrice fifty prayers, with celebration of my hours, and with mass each day. I will recite, also, quoth the third man, thrice fifty *Ymnum dicats* * each day, with celebration of my hours, and with mass each day.

(*f*) LEBAR BREAC.

Celebrad Espartan.—10 a.
Celebrait in Teirt.—10 b.

Celebration of Vespers.
They celebrate Tierce.

Oifrend cech domnaig ocus cech primshollaman, ocus cech primfheli—celebrad cech tratha—celebrad ocus oiffriund.—11 b.

Mass each Sunday, and each chief solemnity, and each chief festival—Celebration of every Hour — Celebration and Mass.

Cid arandentar celebrad is na thrathib sea, sech na trathib ele.—247 a.

Why is Celebration carried out during these Hours in preference to the other Hours?

* *Ymnum dicat* are the first words of a Hymn attributed to St. Hilary of Poitiers. It is contained in the Trinity College (fol. 6 b), and Franciscan (fol. 10 b), *Liber Hymnorum;* and has been published from the former, in the second fasciculus of the *Book of Hymns*, p. 151, sq.

G.—*Extracts from* BOOK OF ARMAGH, *showing that Adult Baptism was generally administered after Profession of Faith and before full Catechetical Instruction.*

Respondensque ille tyrannus crudelis ait: *Pœnitet me facti hujus. . . .* Et ait Sanctus: *crede ergo in Deo, . . . et confitere peccata tua, et baptizare in nomine* etc. . . . Et conversus . . . credidit Deo. Baptizatusque est insuper. Fol. 6 a 2.

Fuit vir. . . . Hercaith nomine. . . . Credidit Deo Patricii et baptizavit illum Patricius. . . . Et exivit cum Patricio ad legendum. 9 a 1.

Et dixit illi: *Cur tu solis surrexisti in honorem Dei mei in me?* Et dixit ei Hercus: *Nescio quid video scintillas igneas de labiis tuis ascendere in labia mea.* Sanctus quoque dixit: *Si baptisma Domini accipies, quod mecum est?* Respondit: Accipiam. Et venerunt ad fontem. . . . Cumque aperuisset librum atque baptizasset virum Hercum. 10 b 1.

Baptizavit Patricius multitudinem nimiam, 14 b 1.

Cum viderent omnes homines hoc miraculum, et baptizavit multos in illa die 14 b 1.

Et baptizavit multos, 15 a 1.

LIBER ANGUELI *incipit.*

Quodam itaque [die]*, Sanctus Patricius de Alti Mache urbe ad multitudines utriusque sexus humani generis babtizandas, docendas atque sanandas, juxta fontem in orientali prædictæ urbis parte prope herentem pie perrexit. Et ibi ante lucem multos undique ad notitiam fidei confluentes expectavit, 20 b 1.

Compare Würzburg *St. Paul:* 1 Cor. xiv. 6. *In doctrina* .i. forcetal neich iarna baithius: that is, instruction of anybody after his Baptism. Folio 12 c.

Ib. 26, *Doctrinam habet* .i. iarmbaithius: that is, after Baptism. Folio 12 d.

H.—*Extract from the* LIBER ANGELI, *enumerating the Religious Orders attached to the Church of Armagh.*

In ista vero urbe Alti Machæ homines Christiani utriusque sexus religiossi ab initio fidei hucusque pene inseperabiliter commorari videntur. Cui vero praedictæ tres ordines adhærent: virgines et pœnitentes, in matrimonio ligitimo æclessiæ servientes.

Et his tribus ordinibus audire verbum prædicationis in æclessia aquilonalis plagæ conceditur semper, diebus dominicis. In australi vero bassilica æpiscopi et præsbyteri et anchoritæ æclessiæ, et cæteri religiossi laudes sapidas offerunt. Lib. Ar., fol. 21 a–b.

* *Die* is most probably in the MS., although it is not in my transcript.

K.—*Extracts from* MISSALS OF AUXERRE AND CHALONS, *showing that the Eucharistic Elements were placed upon the Altar and blessed before Mass commenced.*

EX ANTIQUO MISSALI ECCLESIÆ AUTISSIODORENSIS.

Incipit Ordo Missæ.

Sacerdos primo se reconciliet, si indigeat; et, peractis his quae sibi a confessore injuncta sunt, dicat: *Actiones nostras*, et cætera.

Postea lavet manus dicens: *Amplius lava me*, et cætera, usque in finem psalmi.

Postea, discooperto altari et preparato, administret panem super patenam, et vinum et aquam in calicem, si velit: saltem ante evangelium hoc faciat; et tunc dicit: *De latere Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, exivit sanguis et aqua baptismatis, in remissionem peccatorum.*

Ponendo aquam: *Commixtio vini et aquæ pariter fiat, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*

Postea induat se amictu, dicens . . .

EX ANTIQUO MISSALI ECCLESIÆ CATALAUNENSIS.

Modus Celebrandi Missam.

Sacerdos lavet manus suas dicendo: *Largire, quæsumus, Domine*, et cætera.

Postea, altari parato tribus mappis lineis, ministret panem super patenam, et vinum et aquam in calice ponat, et, dum ponit vinum, dicat: *De latere domini nostri, Iesu Christi, exivit sanguis et aqua, in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum.*

Ponendo aquam in calice dicat, *Commixtio vini et aquæ pariter fiat, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*

Postea, flexis genibus, ante altare dicat hanc orationem: *Domine Iesu Christe, propitius esto mihi peccatori*, et cætera.

Postea erectus sacerdos, facto signo crucis, capiendo amictum dicat . . .

—MARTENE, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus.* Antwerpiæ, 1736, lib. 1, cap. 3, Art. 9, col. 351–2.

L.—*Extracts from* ADAMNAN, *describing some of the Deacon's functions in connexion with Celebration of Mass.*

Quadam solenni die vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu aliquo minime inveniebatur. De cujus defectu cum ministros altaris inter se conquerentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad sacræ Eucharistiæ ministeria aquam, quasi diaconus, fontanam hauriret; ipse quippe, illis in diebus, erat in diaconatus gradu administrans. Lib. II., cap. 1.

Mane primo suum advocat . . . ministratorem . . . eique præcipit, inquiens: *sacra celeriter Eucharistiæ ministeria præparentur.* Lib. III., cap. 11.

Sanctus . . . ea die otiari præcipit sacræque oblationis obsequia præparari. . . . Juxta sancti jussionem, eadem ociantur die; præparatisque sacris, ad ecclesiam, ministeriis, quasi die solenni albati cum sancto pergunt. Cap. 12.

M.—*Penitential Enactments respecting Neglect of Deacon's Duty.*

(*a*) PŒNITENTIALE CUMMIANI.

Diaconus obliviscens oblationem adferre, donec auferatur linteamen, quando recitantur nomina pausantium, similiter pœniteat [id est, superponat]. XIII. 14.

This Canon was incorporated into the

(*b*) PŒNITENTIALE XXXV. CAPITULORUM.

Diaconus obliviscens oblationem adferre, donec adferatur [auferatur] lintheamen, quando recitantur nomina pausantium, superponat. XXXIV.

(*c*) PŒNITENTIALE HALITGARII.

Diaconus obliviscens oblationem offerre sine linteamine, donec offeruntur, similiter [id est, XX. diebus] pœniteat. X. 5.

The incredible corruption of (*c*) warrants the conclusion that the rite intended by Cummian was unknown at the close of the eighth, and opening of the ninth, century in the Church of Cambray.

N.—*Penitential Enactments confirming Equation of Irish Tract—* periculosa oratio = *Consecration Formula.*

(*a*) GILDAS DE PŒNITENTIA.

Si quis errans commotaverit aliquid de verbis sacris, ubi *periculum* adnotatur, triduanum aut tres superpositiones faciat. 20.

(*b*) PŒNITENTIALE BOBIENSE.

Si tutoaverit [titubaverit] sacerdos super oratione dominica, die uno in pane et aqua. XLVII.

(*c*) PŒNITENTIALE CUMMIANI.

Si quis errans commutaverit aliquid de verbis sacrorum, ubi *periculum* adnotaverit, tres superpositiones faciat. XIII. 4.

Si titubaverit sacerdos super orationem dominicam, quae dicitur *periculosa*, si una vice, quinquaginta plagas; secunda, centum; tertiâ, superponat. XIII. 21.

(*d*) PŒNITENTIALE HALITGARII.

Si titubaverit sacerdos super orationem dominicam, quae dicitur *periculosa*, una vice quadraginta psalmos; secunda vice, centum plagis. X. 10.

O.—*Extract from the* LIBELLUS OF ELDEPHONSUS, *given in* MARTENE, tom. i., cap. iv., art. vi., § x., col. 389.

Hic juvat ecclesiarum Hispaniæ ritus seculo nono observatos referre, quos describit Eldephonsus, episcopus Hispaniensis, in Libello hac de re ab ipso edito, ex cujus præscripto, habita dierum et festivitatum ratione, in Natali Domini "in prima Missa et secunda et tertia offerendi sunt panes equali numero et figura semper duodecim, per gyrum; hoc est, in rotundum, ad significandum angelicum chorum et in medio quinque in crucis modum, ad significandos Evangelistas et unicum Filium Dei.

"In Pascha, scilicet, Dominica Resurrectionis, de qua fit sermonis ratio, centum triginta et quinque panes sunt offerendi, in crucis modum per trium missarum officia, videlicet, quadraginta et quinque in unaquaque missa.

"In Domini Jesu Christi Ascensione et Ipsius manifesta quibusdam discipulis in monte excelso Transfiguratione, quae fuit sexto Kalendas Augustas, quinto in mense, ita sunt uno eodemque numero et figura panes offerendi similiter omnino, ut in Natali Domini, scilicet, septemdecim ad singulas missas.

"In Pentecoste etiam sub quadrata, cum cruce tamen in medio, civitatis figura cœlestis Jerusalem, tot panes offerendi sunt per omnia," subaudis missarum officia, "quot in Resurrectione Dominica.

"In diebus autem dominicis et Dei sanctorum festis, amplius non sunt offerendi panes nec minus maxime, quam quinque in crucis forma."

Additque: "Ille enim panis medius sæpe debet esse potius major et honestior aliis omnibus, de quo legitur in quodam loco: Agnus in medio significatus.

"Quotidianis autem diebus, nec amplius nec minus, nisi unus tantum.

"Quae omnia," inquit, "iterum ob memoriam cordis replicamus. In Natali Domini, sicut audistis, decem et septem, per tres vices. In Resurrectione Domini quadraginta quinque panes, tribus vicibus. Sic in Pentecoste quadraginta quinque panes, tribus vicibus. Sic in Transfiguratione decem et septem panes, tribus vicibus similiter, ut in Natale Domini. In dominicis autem diebus et sanctorum festivitatibus, semel tantum, hoc est, una vice, quinque panes."

P.—*Extracts from* GREGORY OF TOURS *proving Libellus = Missal.*

Quadam dominica ad missarum celebranda sollemnia invitatur, dixitque fratribus: *jam oculi mei caligine obteguntur, nec possum libellum aspicere.* Greg. Tur. De Vit. patr., 16.

Ablato sibi [Sidonio] nequiter libello, per quem sacrosancta sollemnia agere consueverat, ita paratus a tempore cunctum festivitatis opus explicuit, ut ab omnibus miraretur. Hist. Francor. II. 22.

Q.—*Extracts from* BOOK OF ARMAGH *and* TRIPARTITE LIFE *describing the Foundation of Armagh.*

LIBER ARMACHANUS.

Fol. 6 b 2. Fuit quidam homo dives et honorabilis in regionibus Orientalium, cui nomen erat Daire. Hunc autem rogavit Patricius ut aliquem locum ad exercendam religionem daret ei. Dixitque dives ad sanctum: *Quem locum petis? Peto,* inquit sanctus, *ut illam altitudinem terræ, quæ nominatur Dorsum salicis, dones mihi; et construam ibi locum.* At ille noluit sancto terram illam dare altam; sed dedit illi locum alium in inferiori terra, ubi nunc est *Fertæ martyrum* juxta Arrd Machæ. Et habitavit ibi Sanctus Patricius cum suis . . .

Fol. 7 a 1. Interrogavitque Daire socios suos dicens: *quid dixit Christianus quando reportastis æneum?* [*Nullum?*] *dictum tam bonum est cum* [*quam?*] *Grazacham illis.**

* Id est, Christianis.

Et venit Daire in semet illa vice . . . dicens ei : . . . *Insuper et partem illam agri quam olim petisti, do tibi nunc quantum habeo, et inhabite ibi.* Et illa est civitas quae nunc Ardd Machæ [fol. 7 a 2] nominatur. Et exierunt ambo, Sanctus Patricius et Daire, ut considerarent mirabile oblationis et beneplacitum munus, et ascenderunt illam altitudinem terræ, inveneruntque cervam cum vitulo suo parvo jaciente in loco in quo nunc altare est sinistralis æclessiæ in Ardd Machæ.

TRIPARTITE LIFE.

British Museum MS., Egerton, 93.

P. 136. Do dechoid tra Patraic iarsin don Machai, la breithir ind aingil, co maigin hita Rath Dare indiu. Bui alailiu fer soimm airmitneoh hi suidiu, Dare a ainm, .i. Dare mac Findchada, maic Eogain, maic Niallain. Conaitigir Patraic inned á reclesa fair. Adubairt Dare : *Cia dú adcobrai ? Hisin tailaich mor se this,* ol Patraic (du hita Ardd Machae indiu). *Ni tiber,* ol Dare, *dober duit chena inned do reclesa isin raith chobsaid se this*—(du hita inde Ferta indiu). Ro fhotaig tra Patraic re cian hi suidiu. . . .

P. 137. Ocus rofiarfacht Dare : *Cid asbert Patraic hic tabairt in choiri huad . . . Is deg briathar leosom,* ol Dare, *Gratzicum.* Luid Dare iarsuidiu ocus a sheitig cona ogreir do Patraic, ocus adropartadar . . . [P. 138] in telcha conatigair riasund. Et accepit Patricius, et benedixit ei et fundavit in eo loco ecclesiam, cui est nomen Ardd Machai.

Translation.

Now Patrick went after that to the Macha, by the word of the angel, to the place wherein is Rath Dare to-day. There was a certain man, wealthy, respectable, therein, Dare his name ; to wit, Dare, son of Finchad, son of Eogan, son of Niallan. Patrick requested a site for his church from him. Said Dare : *What spot dost thou desire ? On the large hill—this below,* quoth Patrick (the spot whereon Armagh is to-day). *I will not give it :* quoth Dare ; *I will give thee, however, a site for thy church in the strong fort—this below* (the spot wherein are the *ferta* (graves) to-day). Now Patrick settled for a long time therein.

And Dare asked : *What said Patrick in bringing the cauldron away from him ? A good word with them,** quoth Dare, *is Grazicum.* . . . Dare and his wife went after this with his full demand to Patrick, and they offered to Patrick the hill which he asked before that. And Patrick accepted, and blessed him, and founded in that place a church, of which the name is Height of Macha (Armagh).

* i. e., with the Christians. This shows Dare was a pagan.

LEBAR BREAC.

Lithographed Edition.	*Translation.*
P. 28a. Tanic Patraic iarsin do Ard Macha, la brethir in angil, ocus dorocht co Raith Dari .i. fer soimm oirmitnech boi inoirtheraib .i. Dare, mac Finchada, maic Eogain, maic Niallain. Dorat sum inad ard eclaise do Patraic, bale hita in ferta indiu. . . .	Patrick came after that to Armagh, by the word of the Angel, and he arrived at the Rath of Dare, to wit, a man wealthy, respectable, who was in the Oiriors; that is, Dare son of Finchad, son of Eogan, son of Niallan. He gave a site of a high church to Patrick, the place wherein the Ferta is to-day.
P. 28 b. Iarfaigis Dare do na timtherib: *Cid atrubairt Patraic ica thabairt uad? . . . Is ni maith acasum inbriathar sin*, ol Dare. . . . Teit Dare fen . . . ocus dorat a rer do Patraic, conid andsin tucc do an inud hita Ard Macha indiu. Ard Sailech tra a ainm cosin.	Dare enquired of the servants: *What said Patrick at its being taken from him? A good thing with them is that word*, quoth Dare . . . Dare himself went and gave his demand to Patrick, so that it was then he gave him the site wherein is Armagh to-day. Sallow Height, indeed, its name to that time.

R.—*Canons received in Early Irish Church respecting Grants made by Pagans.*

COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS.

Liber XLIII. De Locis.

CAP. 1. *De ecclesia ab infidelibus non fundanda.*

N.B.—*Sinodus*: Si quis ingressus fuerit locum, non ab infidelibus aut a laicis, sed ab ecclesia fundatur ecclesia.

CAP. 3. *De fundamento ecclesiæ ab infidelibus accepto.*

Sinodus ait: Quicumque edificat ecclesiam, si ab infidelibus accipiat fundamentum, convocet episcopum et seniores, et firmetur episcopo, et firmet episcopus in oblationem Deo et advenis.

CAP. 4. *De conversatione advenæ accipientis locum.*

Sinodus [I] *Patricii* [c. 24] dicit: Si quis advena ingressus fuerit in plebem, non ante baptizet, nec offerat, nec consecret, nec edificet ecclesiam, donec permissionem

acceperit ab episcopo illius provinciae, quia exemplum humilitatis est; nam qui sperat ab infidelibus aut laicis, et non ab episcopo permissionem accipit, infidelis est.

CAP. 5. *De advena non valente tenere locum suum.*

Sinodus Hibernensis ait: Placuit ut advena accipiat locum inter monasteria; cum vero datum ei locum obtinere non potuerit, ad suum monasterium revertetur, unde venerat. Si ab infidelibus accipit, et non potuit obtinere, accipiat pretium ejus ab heredibus, aliis vero vendi non poterit. Si in eo plantaverit reliquias sanctorum, potest dare aliis clericis, sed tantum perfectis oportet.

S.—*Offertorium from* BOOK OF HYMNS, Trinity College, Dublin, folio 31 *a*, *showing the triple repetition of* Amen.

Has orationes, preces supplicationesque fundimus in conspectu misericordissimæ divinæ majestatis tuæ, Domine Deus omnipotens et misericors, in honore beatissimæ Mariæ semper Virginis, genetricis tuæ, sanctique Michaelis Archangeli, novemque graduum supernorum civium, totiusque æcclesiæ catholicæ, et in honore ipsius summæ sanctissimæque unicæ Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; ac specialiter horum quorum hodie festivitas celebratur, et quorum hic reliquiæ habentur: ut in hac vita sine offensione feliciterque a cunctis diaboli vitiorumque necnon malorum hominum insidiis ac temptationibus liberati, post hanc vitam in electorum grege, te, Domine Deus omnipotens et misericors, adjuvante et gubernante, inseri numerarique mereamur, ac sine fine in sempiternis gaudiis, unica solaque visionis tuæ consolatione, summa Sanctissimaque Trinitas, in conspectu misericordissimæ majestatis tuæ gloriose coronemur. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen, Amen, Amen.

STOWE MISSAL.

Fol. 12a.—

[1]*LITANIA APOSTOLORUM AC* [2]*MARTYRUM SANCTORUM CONFESSORUM ET VIRGINUM INCIPIT.*

Deus, in adjutorium meum—[et] *reliqua* [Ps. lxix. 1][a].
[3]Peccavimus, Domine, peccavimus, parce peccatis nostris, et salva nos. Qui gubernasti Noe super undas [4]diluvii, exaudi [5]nos; et Jonam de [6]abysso verbo revocasti, libera nos. Qui Petro mergenti manum porrexisti, auxiliare nobis, Christe, Fili Dei.

Fol. 12b.—[7]Fecisti mirabilia, [8]Domine, cum patribus nostris, et nostris propitiare temporibus. [9]Emitte manum tuam de alto, libera nos [Ps. cxliii. 7].

Christe, audi nos; Christe, audi nos; Christe, audi nos. Kyrie, [1]eleison.

Sancta Maria,	[ora pro nobis.]	Sancte Jacobe,	[ora pro nobis.]
Sancte [2]Petre,	[,, ,,]	Sancte [9]Thaddæe,	[,, ,,]
Sancte [3]Paule,	[,, ,,]	Sancte [10]Matthia,	[,, ,,]
Sancte [4]Andrea,	[,, ,,]	Sancte Marce,	[,, ,,]
Sancte [5]Jacobe,	[,, ,,]	Sancte [11]Luca,	[,, ,,]
Sancte [6]Bartholomæe,	[,, ,,]	Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis.	
Sancte [7]Thoma,	[,, ,,]	Propitius esto, [12]parce nobis, Domine.	
Sancte [8]Matthæe,	[,, ,,]	Propitius esto, libera nos, Domine.	

Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine.
Per crucem tuam, libera nos, Domine.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 12a.—[1]Letania. [2]martirum. [3]*u* always = *u* and *v*. [4]dilui. [5]*o* accented; the acute accent is employed throughout. [6]abiso. [7]ficisti. [8]domini. [9]emite.

Fol. 12b.—[1]elezion. [2]petri. [3]pauli. [4]anrias. [5]iacobi. [6]bartholomei (with cedilla appended to *e*). [7]tomæ. [8]mathei. [9]tathei. [10]madiani. [11]lucae. [12]parcae.

Fol. 12a.—[a]The addition is contained in two lines on the upper margin. The Title, it will be observed, is borne out by the Litany, which contains Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins.

It is unnecessary to point out the choral portions of the service in detail.

Fol. 28a.

Sancte [1]*Stephane,*	*ora pro*	[2]*nobis.*
Sancte [3]*Martine,*	,,	,,
Sancte [4]*Hieronyme,*	,,	,,
Sancte Augustine,	,,	,,
Sancte [5]*Gregori,*	,,	,,
Sancte Hilari,	,,	,,
Sancte [6]*Patrici,*[a]	,,	,,
Sancte Ailbei,[b]	,,	,,
Sancte Finnio,[c]	,,	,,
Sancte Finnio,[d]	,,	,,
Sancte Ciarani,[e]	,,	,,
Sancte Ciarani,[f]	,,	,,
Sancte Brendini,[g]	,,	,,
Sancte Columba,[h]	,,	,,
Sancte Columba,[i]	,,	,,

Fol. 28b.

Sancte Comgilli,[a]	*ora pro*	*nobis.*
Sancte Cainnichi,[b]	,,	,,
Sancte Findbarri,[c]	,,	,,
Sancte Nessani,[d]	,,	,
Sancte Factni,[e]	,,	,,
Sancte Lugidi,[f]	,,	,,
Sancte Lacteni,[g]	,,	,,
Sancte Ruadani,[h]	,,	,,
Sancte Carthegi,[i]	,,	,,
Sancte Coemgeni,[k]	,,	,,
Sancte Mochonne,[l]	,,	,,
Sancta [1]*Brigita,*[m]	,,	,,
Sancta Ita,[n]	,,	,,
Sancta Scetha,[o]	,,	,,
Sancta Sinecha,[p]	,,	,,
Sancta Samdine,[q]	,,	,,

Fol. 29a.— *Omnes*[a] *sancti, orate pro nobis.*
Propitius esto, parce nobis, Domine.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 28a.—[1]Stefane. [2]*i* accented in this word throughout the Litany. [3]martini. [4]hironime. [5]grigorii. [6]patricii.

Fol. 28b.—[1]brigta.

Fol. 28a.—[a]493. The dates are those of the obits. [b]B., Emly, 541. [c]Ab., Clonard, 548. [d]Ab., Moville, 579. [e]Ab., Clonmacnoise, 548. [f]Ab., Seirkiaran, 560. [g]Ab., Birr, 572. [h]Ab., Terryglas, 548. [i]Ab., Iona, 597.

Fol. 28b.—[a]Ab., Bangor, 601. [b]Ab., Aghabo, 598. [c]B., Cork, 623. [d]Deacon, Mungret, 551. [e]B., Rosscarbery, 6th century. [f]B., Connor, 537. [g]Ab., Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, 622. [h]B., Lothra, 584. [i]Ab., Lismore, 636. [k]Ab., Glendalough, 615. [l]Ab., Derry, 705. [m]V., Kildare, 523. [n]V., Kilmeedy, 569. [o]V., Fert Sceithe, Barrymore, Co. Cork, *circa* 622. [p]V., Taughshinny, Co. Louth, 596. [q]V., Clonbroney, Longford, 739.

Fol. 29a.—[a-a]is a repetition of part of the

Fol. 29 a (*continued*) :—

Propitius esto, libera [1]nos, Domine.
Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine.
Per Crucem tuam, libera nos, Domine.[a]
Peccatores, [2]te rogamus, audi nos.
[3]*Fili Dei, te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut pacem [4]dones, te rogamus, audi nos.
Agne Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, [5]miserere nobis.
Christe, [6]audi nos; Christe, audi nos; Christe, audi nos.

ORATIO [7]AMBROSII.[b]

Ante conspectum divinæ [8]majestatis tuæ, Deus, [9]assisto, qui invocare nomen
Fol. 29b.—*sanctum tuum præsumo; [5]miserere mihi, Domine, homini* | [a]*peccatori luto [1]fæcis [2]immunde [3]inhærenti; ignosce indigno sacerdoti, per cujus manus hæc oblatio videter offerri; parce, Domine, [4]polluto peccatorum labe [5]præ [6]cæteris capitalium,*[b] *et non intres in judicio cum servo tuo, quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens. Scilicet, [7]vitiis ac voluntatibus*[c] *carnis gravati sumus.*

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 29 a.—[1]*o* accented throughout the Litany. [2]*e* accented in these three petitions. [3]Filii. [4]*e* accented. [5]misserere. [6]audii. [7]Ambrosi. [8]maestatis. [9]adsisto.

Fol. 29 b.—[1]feccis. [2]inmunde. [3]inherenti. [4]pulluto. [5]pre. [6]*e* for *æ* in first syllable; *i* accented. [7]vitis, with final *i* accented.

Litany given on fol. 12 b. The remaining portion here following stood upon fol. 13 a.

[b]Martene gives this Prayer from eleven Missals, ranging in date from the time of Charlemagne to the first half of the sixteenth century. Its usual position is before the commencement of Mass, as here. There are, however, exceptions. For instance, in a Tours Missal of the ninth century, the prayer is to be recited *post lotionem ante secretum* (De Antiq. Ec. Rit., vol. i., art. vii., § iii., col. 395).

The Variants are not worth quoting. It will be sufficient to note that the present Text is somewhat fuller than the others.

Fol. 29 b.—[a]This sign | marks end of page.

[b]*creminum* (criminum) was here interlined. The writer, in revising, took the contracted form of *peccatorum* for *pecoatori*, and added the substantive to agree with *capitalium*. In the Mass published by Flacius Illyricus the reading is: Parce mihi, Domine, prae cæteris capitalium criminum labe polluto (Martene, ubi sup., col. 507). The meaning, most likely, is: mihi polluto præ cæteris.

[c]The other copies have *voluptatibus*.

Recordare, Domine, quod caro sumus, et non est alius tibi comparandus; in tuo conspectu etiam cœli non sunt mundi, quanto magis nos, homines terreni,

Fol. 13a.—*quorum, ut dixit* | [1]*propheta, Omnes* [2]*justitiæ nostræ, sicut pannus* [3]*menstruatæ* [Is. lxiv. 6].

Indigni sumus, [4]*Jesu Christe, ut simus viventes, sed tu, qui non vis mortem peccatoris,* [5]*da* [6]*nobis veniam in carne* [6]*constitutis, ut per* [7]*pœnitentiæ labores vita æterna perfruamur in cœlis. Per Dominum.*[a]

ORATIO AUGUSTINI.[b]

Rogo[c] [8]te, Deus [9]Sabaoth [10]altissime, pater sancte, uti me [11]tunica castitatis digneris accingere, et meos lumbos ba*l*theo tui amoris ambire, ac renes cordis mei tuæ caritatis igne [12]urere; ut pro [6]peccatis [13]meis possim intercedere, et [14]adstantis populi peccatorum veniam [15]promereri, ac pacificas singulorum hostias immolare: me quoque tibi audaciter [16]accedentem non sinas[d] perire; sed dignare lavare, ornare et leniter suscipere.[d] Per Dominum nostrum.

Fol. 13b.[a]—[1]*Hæc oratio in omni* [2]*missa cantatur.*

Ascendat oratio nostra usque ad [3]thronum claritatis tuæ, Domine, et ne vacua revertatur ad nos postulatio nostra. Per Dominum.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 13a.—[1]profeta. [2]iustitae. [3]menstruate. [4]ihu xpe. [5]*a* accented. [6]*i* accented; also in final syllable of constitutis. [7]penitentiae. [8]*e* accented. [9]zabaoth. [10]altisime. [11]tonica. [12]urire. [13]*e* accented. [14]adstantes. [15]promiriri. [16]accidentem.

Fol. 13b.—[1]Heo. [2]misa. [3]tronum.

Fol. 13a.—[a]The portion occupied by the Rescription consisted of four lines. What is legible of the original writing has been given, in the explanation of the Plate, No. 9.

[b]The title is given on the upper margin, with a reference mark corresponding to a similar one on the lateral margin, opposite *Rogo.*

[c]Martene quotes this Prayer from seven missals. The oldest is probably the Pontifical of Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, in the middle of the ninth century (ubi sup., col. 529). In this the title is: *Ad tunicam.* The different readings are of no importance.

[d]Moelcaich inserted *neque permittas* after sinas; and *præsta* after suscipere.

Fol. 13b.—[a]Given in the Liber Hymnorum, T.C.D., fol. 29b., with the reading tronum.

IN [4] SOLEMNITATIBUS PETRI ET CHRISTI.

Deus,[b] qui beato Petro, apostolo tuo, [5] collatis clavibus regni cælestis, animas ligandi [6] atque solvendi pontificium tradidisti, suscipe propitius preces nostras, et intercessione ejus [7] quæsumus, Domine, auxilium, ut a peccatorum nostrorum [8] nexibus liberemur. Per Dominum.

[9] *HYMNUS ANGELICUS.*

Gloria[c] in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis. Laudamus [10] te, benedicimus [10] te, adoramus [10] te, glorificamus [10] te, magnificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi pro[pter] magnam [11] misericordiam tuam. Domine,

Slip of vellum inserted.—rex cælestis, | *Deus pater omnipotens, Domine,*

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 13 b.—[4] sollemnitatibus. [5] conlatis. [6] autque. [7] quesumus. [8] neximus. [9] Imnus. [10] *e* accented. [11] missericordiam.

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[b] This is the first Collect in the *Missa Romensis Cottidiana* of the Bobio Missal. If the Rubric on 14 a is to be reliedupon, the Prayer is misplaced here. With the exception of *atque* and *nexibus*, found in the Bobio text, the wording is the same in both MSS. It is the Roman Collect for Jan. 18 (*Cathedræ Petri Romæ*), with *animas* omitted, and *concede ut intercessionis ejus auxilio* replacing *suscipe—ut.*

[c] Pope Symmachus (498–514) introduced the *Gloria* into the Liturgy (Martene I., col. 366). At first it was employed in the Office in the Irish Church. The Antiphonary of Bangor prescribes its use at Vespers and Matins.

Ad Matutinas decantatum volunt quidam, quod in antiquis MSS. *Hymnus in die dominico ad Matutinas* inscribitur. Quibus astipulatur locus Athanasii, lib. de Virginib. sub. fin. Πρὸς τὸν ὄρθρον μὲν . . . λέγετε . . . Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμεν σε καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Du Cange, II. 820.

Usurpatum etiam fuisse ad laudes matutinas ostendimus in Comment. in Reg. S. Benedicti, cap. 12. Martene, loc. cit.

When the present compiler found in the Roman Missal that the Hymn was inserted in the Mass, he transcribed the Text with which he was familiar. Of this four copies are extant—the Stowe; the Bangor (B.); Book of Hymns, Trinity College (D.); and Book of Hymns in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin (F.). To show their close similarity, the few variants are appended.

We have here the explanation of the Title in the Bobio Missal: *Gloria ad missam decantanda.* The compiler of that volume was acquainted with two Recensions of the *Gloria*—that chanted in the Office, and that chanted in the Mass. He gave the text of the Roman or Liturgical.

[1]*Fili Dei*[a] [2]*unigenite,* [3]*Jesu Christe, Sancte Spiritus Dei, et omnes dicimus: Amen. Domine,* [1]*Fili Dei Patris, Agne Dei, qui tollis peccatum mundi,* [4]*miserere* [5]*nobis, suscipe orationes*[b] *nostras,*[b] *qui* [6]*sedes ad dextram Dei*[c] *Patris,* [4]*miserere nobis.*[d] *Quoniam* [7]*tu solus sanctus,* [7]*tu solus dominus,*[e] |

Reverse of slip.—[1]*tu solus gloriosus, cum Spiritu sancto in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.*[a]

Fol. 14a.—*Hæc oratio pro vice "Deus qui culpa" in* [1] *quotidianis diebus* [canitur].

Deus,[a] *qui diligentibus* [2]*te bona* [3]*invisibilia præparasti, effunde cordibus* [4]*nostris tui amoris affectum, ut* [2]*te in omnibus et super omina diligentes* [5]*promissiones tuas, quæ omne* [6]*desiderium superant, consequamur. Per Dominum.*

[7]*ORATIONES ET* [7]*PRECES MISSÆ* [8]*ECCLESIÆ* [9]*ROMANÆ.*

Hæc oratio prima,—Petri.[b]

Deus,[c] qui culpa offenderis, [10]pœnitentia placaris, [11]afflictorum gemitus respice, et mala quæ [12]juste [13]irrogas [14]misericorditer averte. Per.

MS. Readings.

Inserted Slip.—[1]filii. [2]unigeniti. [3]ihesu. [4]misserere. [5]*i* accented. [6]sedis. [7]*u* accented. Reverse of slip.—[1]*u* accented.

Fol. 14a.—[1]cotidianis. [2]*e* accented. [3]invissibilia. [4]both vowels accented. [5]promisiones. [6]desederium. [7]*o* and final *e* accented. [8]æclesiæ. [9]romane. [10]penitentia. [11]adflictorum. [12]iustae. [13]inrogas. [14]missericorditer.

Inserted slip.—[a]Dei omitted, B. D. F.

[b]singular, B. D. F. [c]Dei omitted, D.

[d]+ Domine, D. F. [e]Tu solus Dominus is repeated by an oversight in the MS.

Reverse of slip.—[a] Deus—Amen was originally written upon eight lines of 14 a. At present it is contained on a vellum slip attached to folio 13. There are seven lines on the front, and two on the reverse.

Fol. 14a.—[a]This Gelasian Collect is assigned to the fifth Sunday after Pentecost in the present Roman Missal. *Infunde* for *effunde* is the sole variant.

[b]The meaning of the Rubric, I am of opinion, is: This prayer, namely, of Peter, is the first (of those called: *Orationes et preces missæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ*). That is, *Deus, qui beato Petro* should have been inserted here. It is certainly out of place, according to Roman analogy, before the *Gloria.* This is confirmed by the position in the Bobio Missal, namely, before the Collect, *Deus qui culpa.*

[c]Given in the Bobio MS., with the heading *Collectio;* and *afflictorum* for *adflictorum. Deus*—

[15]*Hic Augmentum.*

Lectio Pauli Apostoli ad [16] *Corinthios incipit* [i Cor. xi. 26–32].

Fratres, quotiescumque manducabitis[d] panem hunc, et bibetis calicem

Fol. 14 b.—istum, mortem Domini [17]annun | tiabitis donec veniat. Itaque, quicumque manducaverit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini. Probet [1]autem [2]seipsum homo,[a] et sic de pane illo edat, et de [3]calice bibat. Qui enim manducat et bibit[b] *indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit,*[b] non discernens corpus Domini. Propterea inter vos multi infirmi et [4]ægri,[c] et dormiunt multi. Quod [5]si nosmet ipsos [6]dijudicaremus, non utique judicaremur. Dum [1]autem judicamur, a Domino corripimur, ut non cum hoc mundo damnemur.

Deus,[d] *qui* [7]*nos regendo* [8]*conservas, parcendo* [8]*justificas, a temporali tribulatione* [7]*nos eripe, et gaudia* [9]*nobis æterna largire. Per Dominum nostrum,* [et] *reliqua.*

Omnipotens[e] sempiterne Deus, qui populum tuum unigeniti tui sanguine

Fol. 15 a.—[10]redemisti, sol | ve[a] opera [1]diaboli, rumpe vincula peccati,[a] ut qui [2]ad æternam vitam in confessione tui nominis sunt [3]adepti, nihil debeant mortis auctori. Per.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 14 a.—[15]*i* accented. [16]corinteos. [17]admuntiabitis.

Fol. 14 b.—[1]hautem. [2]*e* accented. [3]calige. [4]egri. [5]*i* accented. [6]dejudicaremur. [7]*o* accented. [8]*a* accented. [9]*i* accented. [10]redimisti.

Fol. 15 a.—[1] diabuli. [2] + ad. Scribe began to copy adefti; saw his mistake, but forgot to erase ad. [3] adefti.

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placaris is retained in the Roman Collect for the first Thursday in Lent.

[a]Manducaueritis was first written. Then the scribe made the second *u* into a *b*; *e* into *i*; and erased *ri*: thus producing manducabitis.

Fol. 14 b.—[a] Over homo Moelcaich placed *unusquisque.*

[b–b]Interlined by Moelcaich. The scribe omitted them, owing to the homœoteleuton.

[c] *et inbiciles* (imbecilles), placed over ægri by same hand.

[d] Placed in three lines on lower margin, with reference marks, like those on 13 a, to this place.

[e] First *Collectio* of Bobio third Missa Paschalis; also Ambrosian.

Fol. 15 a.—[a–a] Vincula peccatorum nostrorum, B.

[3]Quærite Dominum et confirmamini; [3]quærite faciem ejus semper [Ps. civ. 4].

Confitemini, et invocate nomen ejus. Usque—[3]quærentium Dominum —[3]Quærite [Ps. civ. 1–3].

Grata[a] sint tibi, Domine, munera quibus [4]mysteria [5]celebrantur nostræ libertatis et vitæ. Per. *Alleluia.*

Fortitudo mea et laudatio mea: usque—in salutem. [Ps. cxvii. 14.]

[6]Sacrificiis[b] presentibus, Domine, [7]quæsumus, intende placatus, ut devotionis nostræ [8]proficiant ad salutem. [Per, etc.]

Fol. 15 b.—

Deprecatio sancti Martini pro populo incipit. Amen, Deo gratias.

[a]Dicamus omnes ex toto corde, et ex tota mente: Domine, exaudi et [1]miserere; Domine, [1]miserere.[a]

[2]Qui [3]respicis super terram et facis eam tremere: Oramus [te, Domine, ut supra.] [Ps. ciii. 32.]

[b]Pro altissima pace et [4]tranquillitate temporum nostrorum;[b] [c]pro sancta [5]ecclesia catholica, quæ est a finibus usque ad terminos orbis terræ. Oramus.[c]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 15 a.—[3]querite. [4]misteria. [5]celebratur. [6]sacrificis. [7]quesumus. [8]proficiat.
Fol. 15 b.—[1]misserre. [2]*i* accented. [3]respices. [4]trancillitate. [5]aeclessia.

Fol. 15 a.—[a]Gelasian. It is employed as the opening part of the *Collectio ad Pacem* in the first Advent Mass of the Gallican Missal.

[b]Roman (Leonine); used as Secret of fourth Sunday of Advent in the present Roman Missal. Both texts present unimportant verbal differences.

Fol. 15 b.—[a–a]Εἴπωμεν πάντες ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἴπωμεν.

Ὁ χορὸς (τρίς)· Κύριε, ἐλέησον.

Κύριε Παντοκράτορ, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν, δεόμεθά σου, ἐπάκουσον, καὶ ἐλέησον. Liturgy of Constantinople, Deacon's Litany after Gospel.

The phrases ex- mente stand after Domine, miserere in the MS. I have placed them in their present position, in accordance with the collocation in the Fulda Litany (*supra*, p. 165), and in the foregoing extract, which latter is clearly the original. Domine, miserere are not in the Fulda MS.

[b–b]Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς εὐσταθείας τοῦ κόσμου . . . δεηθῶμεν.

[c–c]Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων, δεηθῶμεν. This is a distinct petition in F.

Pro[d] pastore, N., episcopo, et omnibus episcopis et [6]presbyteris et diaconi et omni clero. Oramus.[d]

Pro[e] hoc loco et inhabitantibus in eo;[e] pro[f] [7]piissimis imperatoribus; et omni Romano exercitu.[f] Oramus.

Pro[g] omnibus qui in sublimitate constituti sunt[g]; pro[h] virginibus, [8]viduis, et [9]orphanis. Oramus.[h]

Fol. 16a.—Pro[a] [1]peregrinantibus et iter agentibus ac navigantibus;[a] pro[b] pœnitentibus et [2]catechumenis.[b] Oramus.

Pro[c] his qui in sancta [3]ecclesia fructus [4]misericordiæ largiuntur,[c] Domine, Deus virtutum, exaudi preces nostras. Oramus.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 15b.—[6]praespeteris. [7]pissimis. [8]*u* accented. [9]orfanis, with *a* accented.
Fol. 16a.—[1]perigrinantibus. [2]catacominis. [3]æclesia. [4]misserecordiae.

[d-d] Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας δεηθῶμεν. Clementine Liturgy, Deacon's Litany (a).

And, after the Consecration, in the same Liturgy (b):—

Ἔτι δεόμεθά σου, Κύριε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς,
. . . καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, ὑπὲρ τῶν διακόνων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου.

Here is another disproof of Menard's statement, that the Initial N. is not found in MSS. prior to A.D. 1000.

[e-e] Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνθάδε ἁγίας παροικίας δεηθῶμεν (a). Ἔτι ἀξιοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων (b).

[f-f] Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κύριε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, . . . [1 Tim. ii. 2], καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου (b). Distinct petition, and singular number in F.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων ἡμῶν . . . καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Liturgy of St. Constantinople, Deacon's Litany before first Antiphon.

[g-g] καὶ [ὑπὲρ] τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ [1 Tim. ii. 2] (b). Et (pro) omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt, Vulg.

[h-h] Ὑπὲρ . . . παρθένων, γηρῶν τε καὶ ὀρφανῶν δεηθῶμεν (a).

Fol. 16a.—[a-a] Ὑπὲρ πλεόντων καὶ ὁδοιπορούντων δεηθῶμεν. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν . . ἐξορίαις (a). Ἔτι ἀξιοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ . . τ. ε. ε., . . υ. π., κ. ο. (b). Peregrinantibus—navigantibus omitted, F.

[b-b] Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν (b).

[c-c] Ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ποιούντων τοῖς πένησι τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας δεηθῶμεν (a).

[d]Sanctorum apostolorum ac [5]martyrum memores [6]simus, ut, orantibus [7]eis pro [6]nobis, veniam [8]mereamur.[d] Oramus.

Christianum[e] et pacificum [6]nobis finem concedi a Domino deprecemur.[e] [9]Præsta, [Domine, præsta].

Et divinum in [6]nobis permanere vinculum caritatis, sanctum Dominum deprecemur. [9]Præsta, [Domine, præsta].

Conservare sanctitatem et [10]catholicæ fidei puritatem, Dominum deprecemur. [9]Præsta. Dicamus [omnes, etc., ut supra].

Fol. 16b.—Sacrificium[a] tibi, Domine, celebrandum placatus intende, quod et nos a [1]vitiis nostræ [2]conditionis emundet, et tuo [3]nomini [4]reddat [5]acceptos. Per Dominum.[b]

Ante[c] *oculos tuos, Domine, reus conscientiæ* [6]*testis* [7]*assisto: rogare pro* [8]*aliis non* [9]*audeo quod* [10]*impetrare non* [11]*merear;* [12]*tu enim* [13]*scis, Domine, omnia quæ*

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 16a.—[5]martium, [6]*i* accented. [7]*e* accented. [8]meriamur. [9]presta. [10]catholice.

Fol. 16b.—[1]second *i* accented. [2]condicionis. [3]nomine. [4]retdat. [5]aceptos. [6]testes. [7]adsisto. [8]alis, with *i* accented. [9]audio. [10]inpetrare. [11]meriar. [12]*u* accented. [13]*i* accented.

[d-d] Τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνημονεύσωμεν, ὅπως κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀθλήσεως αὐτῶν καταξιωθῶμεν (b).

[e-e] Ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος τηρήσῃ ἡμᾶς καὶ φυλάξῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι εἰς τέλος (a). Domine, præsta are supplied from F.

Fol. 16b.—[a]Leonine. Employed in Gothic Missal (v.), and Bobio (III., in adventum Domini), *ad Pacem*. The reading is the same in all.

[b] The remaining nine lines are erased. They can have contained little more than the portion of the Gospel which stands on 17b. From this, taken in connection with the Rubrics of Moelcaich on 17a, and the fact that Veni Domine is Gallican, we can conclude that the removal of the outer veil took place before the Prayer Veni in Ba (7).

[c]This Prayer is given by Martene from eight Missals. In one, that of Flacius Illyricus (Ordo iv.), it is set down twice—before the Gospel, and *antequam oblationes accipiat*. In three more it occupies the latter position (vi., xiii., xvi.). In the fifth it is placed, *quando textus deosculatur* (v.); and in three, before Mass (viii., ix., xv.).

The noteworthy variants are the following, from the St. Denys Missal (v.), of the time of Charlemagne (Martene, ubi sup., col. 521).

aguntur in [13]*nobis: erubescimus confiteri id quod per* [14]*nos non timemus admitti*[d]*:* [13]*verbis tibi tantum obsequimur, corde mentimur, et quod velle* [14]*nos dicimus, nolle* [13]*nostris actibus* [15]*approbamus.*

Fol. 17a.—*Parce, Domine, confitentibus, ignosce peccantibus,* [1]*miserere* [2]*te rogantibus: sed, quia in* [3]*sacramentis* [3]*tuis meus sensus infirmus est,*[a] [4]*præsta, Domine, ut, qui*[b] *ex* [3]*nobis duro corde*[b] *verba non recipis, per te* [3]*nobis veniam largiaris. Per Dominum.*

[3]*Lethdirech sund*[c]. [Semidiscoopertio hic.]

Dirigatur,[d] *Domine,—usque—vespertinum.* [Ps. cxl. 2.]

Ter canitur. [3]*Hic* [5]*elevatur* [6]*linteamen de calice.*

Veni, Domine, sanctificator omnipotens, et benedic [7]*hoc sacrificium præparatum tibi. Amen.*

Ter canitur.

Fol. 17b.—*Lectio* [1]*Evangelii secundum* [2]*Joannem incipit* [vi. 51–7].[a]

Dominus [3]*noster,* [4]*Jesus Christus, dizit: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cælo* [5]*descendi.* [6]*Si quis manducaverit ex eo, vivet in æternum; et panis quem ego dabo ei, caro mea est pro hujus mundi vita. Litigabant, ergo, Judæi ad invicem,*

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 16b.—[13]*i* accented. [14]*o* accented. [15]adprobamus.

Fol. 17a.—[1]misserere. [2]*e* accented. [3]*i* accented. [4]presta. [5]elivatur. [6]lintiamen. [7]*o* accented.

Fol. 17b.—[1]evangilii. [2]iohannem. [3]*o* accented. [4]ihesus. [5]discendi. [6]*i* accented.

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[d]admittere.

Fol. 17a.—[a]+ et apud te non habent peccatores verba sine crimine. [b–b]si ex nobis indignis et peccatoribus duri cordis.

[c]The Irish Rubric (*Half-uncovering here*) is the same as the Latin; the latter being an explanation of the extent to which the uncovering was to be carried; i.e., the removal of the outer veil.

[d]This, with the two following verses, is used in the Roman Missal during the incensing of the altar, after the offering of the Oblata. The absence of a rubric may be taken as showing that Moelcaich was unacquainted with such a rite. I have not found any native reference to incense in Irish documents.

Fol. 17b.—[a]The absence of an original Title to the Epistle shows that this heading too was added by Moelcaich.

dicentes: Quomodo potest hic [6]*nobis dare carnem suam manducare? Dixit, ergo,* [6]*eis* [4]*Jesus: Amen, amen, dico* [6]*vobis, nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis*

Fol. 18a.—*sicut panem, et biberitis sanguinem hujus, non habe*[b] | bitis vitam in [1]vobis. Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum [3]sanguinem, habet vitam æternam, et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo [2]die. Caro enim mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus verus est potus. Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, ipse in me manet, et ego in illo.

Fragment of Fol. 17.[a]—

ORATIO GREGORII SUPER EVANGELIUM.

[1]*Quæsumus, Domine, omnipotens Deus, ut vota* [2]*nostra tibi* [3]*immolata clementer respicias, atque ad* [4]*defensionem* [2]*nostram dextram tuæ* [5]*majestatis* [6]*extendas. Per Dominum* [2]*nostrum,* [et] *reliqua.*

Fol. 18a (continued).—[a]Credo in unum Deum, patrem omnipotentem, factorem cæli et terræ, [4]visibilium omnium et [in][5]visibilium. Et in unum Dominum nostrum, [6]Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum; natum ex Patre ante omnia sæcula; lumen de lumine; Deum verum de Deo vero; natum, non factum; consubstantialem Patri; per quem omnia |

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 17b.—[6]*i* accented. [4]ihesus.

Fol. 18a.—[1]*i* accented. [2]diae. [3]sanguinim.

Fragment of 17b.—[1]quessimus. [2]*o* accented. [3]immulata. [4]defentionem. [5]maestatis. [6]*a* accented.

Fol. 18a (continued).—[4]vissivilium. [5]visivilium. [6]Ihesum.

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[b]The last word on this page is *habebitis*. The two final syllables are redundant, being already given on the original folio, 18a.

[a]Fragment of fol. 17. Of the membrane which 17ab is the first folio of, the second was either cut away from top to bottom near the left margin; or, as a defect in the remaining portion would lead to conclude, never existed in its entirety. To the upper half of the fragment a narrow slip was attached, on the right margin. The edges overlap, and are fastened with a parchment thong in single stitches. Similar, but far more deftly executed, attachments are found in the Franciscan Liber Hymnorum. On the recto of the space thus obtained the Prayer of St. Gregory, taken from his Sacramentary, is written; the reverse is vacant.

Fol. 18a.—[a]Version of the Niceno-Constan-

Fol. 18b.—facta sunt. Qui propter [1]nos homines et propter nostram salutem [2]descendit de cælo. Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto [a]et Maria Virgine; et homo natus est. [3]Crucifixus [4]autem[b] pro [5]nobis sub Pontio Pilato; passus et sepultus. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas. Et ascendit in cælos, et [6]sedet a[d] [7]dexteram Dei Patris. Et iterum venturus cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos; cujus regni non erit finis.

Et Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificatorem;[c] ex Patre procedentem; cum Patre et Filio coadorandum et conglorificandum;[c] qui [8]locutus est per [9]prophetas. Et unam sanctam [10]ecclesiam, Catholicam et Aposto-

Fol. 19a.—licam. [11]Confiteor unum | [1]baptismum in remissionem peccatorum. Spero [2]resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam futuri sæculi. Amen.[a]

[4]*Landirech sund.* [Plena discoopertio hic.]

Ostende [4]nobis, Domine, misericor[diam tuam]. Et salutare tuum da [no]bis. [Ps. lxxxiv. 8.]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 18b.—[1]*o* accented. [2]discendit. [3]crugifixus. [4]hautem. [5]*i* accented. [6]sedit. [7]dextram. [8]loqutus. [9]profetas. [10]sæclesiam. [11]Confeteor.

Fol. 19a.—[1]babtismum. [2]remisionem. [3]resurrextionem. [4]*i* accented.

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tinopolitan Creed given in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

Fol. 18b.—[a]Cf. the reading of St. Augustine: Natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine; and the Note of the Benedictines: Sic in MSS. At in editis, *ex* Maria Virgine. Serm. ccxii. In traditione Symboli, I. Op. tom. v. col. 652. Antwerpiæ, 1700.

[b]Moelcaich placed *etiam* over hautem. [c-c]After vivificatorem Moelcaich interlined *qui:* under procedentem he put three marks (∴) of elision; overhead, *Filioque procedit;* on the writing space after it, *qui:* over the *co* of coadorandum, *simul*; and *tur* over the second *a:* one point each under *ndū* in this word and in conglorificandum, with *tur* above the *a* of the latter. The Text was thus altered into the present Western reading: Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit; qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur.

Fol. 19a.—[a]Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Αμήν.—Symbolum Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum.

Ter canitur

[Major pars lineæ hic erasa est.][b]

Oblata,[c] Domine, munera sanctifica, nosque a peccatorum nostro[rum] maculis emunda. Per Dominum.[d]

Hostias,[e] *quæsumus, Domine, nostræ devotionis benignus* [5]*assume, et per sacrificia gloriosa subditorum tibi corda purifica. Per Dominum.*

[6]*Has oblationes et sincera libamina immolamus tibi, Domine,* [7]*Jesu Christe,* |

Fol. 19b.—*qui passus es pro* [1]*nobis et resurrexisti tertia die a* [2]*mortuis, pro* [3]*animabus* [4]*charorum nostrorum, N., et* [4]*chararum nostrarum, quorum nomina recitamus, et quorumcumque non recitamus, sed a* [5]*te recitantur in libro vitæ æternæ, propter* [6]*misericordiam tuam eripe. Qui* [7]*regnas in* [8]*sæcula* [8]*sæculorum. Amen.*

Secunda pars Augmenti [2]*hic, super Oblata.*

Grata sit tibi hæc oblatio plebis tuæ quam tibi offerimus in honorem Domini

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 19a.—[5]adsume. [6]*a* accented. [7]ihu xpe.

Fol. 19b.—[1]*o* accented. [2]*i* accented. [3]animamus. [4]*c* for *ch.* [5]*e* accented. [6]misseriicordiam. [7]*a* accented. [8]se-.

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[b]Tuum da [no]bis is placed at the beginning of a line; the remainder is erased, and *ter canitur* placed on part of the Palimpsest (see Plate, No. 3). The legible letters are too few and far between to enable the words to be reconstructed with any certainty. As the space is too limited for a Prayer, the contents, it can be concluded, were mnemonic words of an Antiphon, followed by *Usque* with the terminal. The abrasion, accordingly, does not affect the structure.

[c]Third in the Bobio *Missa Romensis;* with Title *Post Nomina,* and *macolis,* the Irish graphic form of *maculis.* In the Roman Missal it is the Secret of the second Sunday after Epiphany.

[d]The remainder—six lines—of this page is erased. The initial still plainly traceable and the Bobio Missal show that the next Prayer was *Grata—Christi, cunctis—salutem,* on foll. 19b–20a. It is fourth in the *Missa Romensis,* with the heading *ad Pacem*; and the reading *in honore nominis tui.*

The rest of 19a and down to the eleventh or twelfth line of next page contained the Gelasian Preface,—*Sursum—nostrum,* foll. 20a–20b; *Per quem majestatem*—to second *excelsis,* foll. 21a–21b.

[e]Leonine. In the Roman Missal *Hostias benignus assume* occurs in the Secret for Martyr Bishop, and a clause = *subditorum—purifica* in that of third Sunday after Epiphany.

Fol. 20a.—[1]*nostri*, [9]*Jesu Christi*, | *et in commemorationem beatorum apostolorum tuorum ac* [1]*martyrum tuorum et confessorum, quorum* [2]*hic reliquias* [3]*specialiter recolimus, N.; et eorum quorum festivitas hodie celebratur; et pro* [4]*animabus omnium episcoporum nostrorum et sacerdotum* [5]*nostrorum et diaconorum* [5]*nostrorum; et* [6]*charorum* [5]*nostrorum, et* [6]*chararum* [5]*nostrarum; et puerorum* [7]*nostrorum, et puellarum nostrarum; et* [8]*pœnitentium* [5]*nostrorum: cunctis* [9]*proficiat ad salutem. Per Dominum.*

[10]*Sursum*[a] *corda. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino, Deo*

Fol. 20b.—[5]*nostro.* | *Dignum et justum est.*

Vere dignum et justum est, [1]*æquum et salutare est, nos tibi* [2]*hic semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, omnipotens æterne Deus, per Christum, Dominum nostrum. Qui cum unigenito tuo et Spiritu Sancto Deus es unus et* [3]*immortalis; Deus incorruptibilis et* [4]*immutabilis; Deus invisibilis et fidelis; Deus mirabilis et laudabilis; Deus honorabilis et fortis; Deus* [5]*altissimus et magnificus; Deus vivus et verus; Deus sapiens et potens; Deus sanctus et* [6]*speciosus; Deus magnus et bonus; Deus terribilis et pacificus; Deus pulcher et rectus; Deus purus* |

Fol. 21a.—*et benignus; Deus beatus et justus; Deus pius et sanctus: non unius singulariter personæ, sed unius Trinitatis substantiæ.*

[1]*Te credimus,* [1]*te benedicimus,* [1]*te adoramus; et laudamus nomen tuum in* [2]*æternum, et in sæculum* [3]*sæculi. Per quem salus mundi, per quem vita hominum, per quem resurrectio mortuorum.*

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 19b.—[1]*o* accented. [2]ihesu.

Fol. 20a.—[1]marterum. [2]*i* accented. [3]spicialiter. [4]animamus. [5]first *o* accented. [6]*c* for *ch.* [7]second *o* accented. [8]first *e* with cedilla appended. [9]proficiant. [10]sussum.

Fol. 20b.—[1]aequm. [2]*i* accented. [3]inmortalis. [4]inmotabilis. [5]altisimus. [6]spiciosus.

Fol. 21a.—[1]*e* accented. [2]eternum. [3]seculi.

Fol. 20a.—[a]In the Bobio MS. *Sursum—Dignum et justum est* is omitted. The Preface, with the title *Contestatio,* immediately follows *Grata sit,* etc. Sanctus, the mnemonic word, alone is given, the sequel being well known to the celebrant. The only variant is *supplice* for *supplici.* Then follows *Te igitur,* etc., with no Title.

Isund [1]*totet Dignum in* [4]*tormaig ind,*
maid Per quem bes innadiudidi thall.

[Hic venit "Dignum" augmenti in ea (scilicet, Præfatione),
si "Per quem" sit Introductio[b] illic (scil., in Missis ad finem).]

Per quem [5]*majestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes,* [6]*tr[e]munt potestates. Cœli cœlorumque virtutes, ac beata* [7]*seraphim socia* [8]*exultatione* |
Fol. 21 b.—*concelebrant. Cum quibus et* [1]*nostras voces uti admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes: Sanctus,*

Isund [2]*totet Dignum in* [1]*tormig ind,*
[3]*maid Sanctus bess innadiudidi thall.*

[Hic venit "Dignum" Augmenti in ea (scilicet, Præfatione),
si "Sanctus" sit Introductio illic (scil., in Missis ad finem).]

Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus [1]*Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et* [2]*universa*[a] *terra gloria tua.* [4]*Hosanna in* [5]*excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.* [4]*Hosanna in excelsis.*

Benedictus[b] *qui venit de* [5,6]*cœlis, ut conversaretur in* [5]*terris;*[b] *homo*[b] *factus est,*[b] *ut* [7]*delicta carnis deleret; hostia*[b] *factus est,*[b] *ut per passionem suam vitam æternam credentibus daret.* [1]*Per Dominum.*

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 21 a.—[4]*o* accented. [5]maestatem. [6]trment. [7]saraphim. [8]exsultatione.
Fol. 21 b.—[1]*o* accented. [2]*e* accented. [3]*a* accented. [4]Ossanna. [5]*i* accented. [6]celis. [7]dilicta.

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[b] Cf. tuididin, gl. deductorium, Carlsruhe Bede, 39 c; do thudidin, gl. adducit, Wb. 1 c; occ a tuididin isin recht sin, gl. legis tuæ ad quam, me auctore, redierant, Ml. 86 a; ianiudide dia denum, gl. ministrum regis in idipsum cogentem, ib.

Fol. 21 b.—[a] Omitted in Bobio and Gelasian Missals.

[b–b] (*Post sanctus*). Vere Sanctus, vere benedictus, Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, Filius tuus, qui venit de coelis, ut conversaretur in terris; homo factus, ut habitaret in nobis; hostia effectus, ut nos faceret sacerdotes. Ipse, enim, qui pridie. Missale Gothicum, Missa Dominicalis, lxxv.

Fol. 22a.—

CANON DOMINICUS [1]PAPÆ [2]GELASII.

[3]Te igitur, [4]clementissime Pater, per [5]Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, [6]supplices [3]te[a] rogamus et petimus, uti accepta[b] habeas et [7]benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia [8]illibata; [9]inprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro tua sancta [10]Ecclesia[c] catholica, quam pacificare, custodire [d]et unare[d] et regere digneris [e]toto orbe[e] terrarum, una cum beatissimo[f] famulo tuo,[g] N., Papa [11]nostro, episcopo[a] sedis apostolicæ,[h] et omnibus [12]orthodoxis atque[i] [13]apostolicæ |

Fol. 22b.—*fidei cultoribus, et [a]Abbate nostro, N., episcopo.[a]*

[1]Hic[a] recitantur nomina vivorum.[a]

Memento[a] etiam,[a] Domine, famulorum [a]tuorum, N.,[a] famularumque tuarum; et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum;

pro[b] stratu[c] seniorum suorum et ministrorum omnium puritate; pro

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 22a.—[1]*e* with appended cedilla. [2]Gilasi. [3]*e* accented. [4]clementisime. [5]ihesum. [6]suplices. [7]*a* accented. [8]inlibata. [9]final *i* accented. [10]seclesia. [11]*o* accented. [12]ortodoxis, with *i* accented. [13]apostolice.

Fol. 22b.—[1]*i* accented.

Fol. 22a.—[a]omitted, B (Bobio Missal). [b]acceptum, B. [c]placed before tua, B. The collocation in the Text is Irish. [d-d]adunare, B. [e-e]totum orbem, B. [f]devotissimo, B. [g]famolo, B. [h]+ et antestite nostro, B. [i]adque, B.

Fol. 22b.—[a-a]omitted, B. [b]pro-to dignetur, on fol. 23b, omitted, B. [c]i. e., body, congregation. The present is the only instance I have met of *stratus* with this meaning. Compare posuerunt sibi stratum et sedem. Book of Armagh, 12b2.

(*Post nomina.*) Offerunt tibi, Domine virtutum, munera et vota credentes. Suscipe nomini tuo debita honoris obsequia, pro pace ecclesiæ tuæ, pro commemoratione omnium sanctorum, pro sacerdotum et ministrorum puritate, pro regum pacabilitate, pro sufficientia rerum et temporum tranquilitate, pro perseverantia virginum et continentia viduarum, pro orphanorum tuitione et poenitentium sublevatione, pro salute omnium viventium et pro requie defunctorum Per. Mis. Goth., Miss. Dom., lxxviii.

[2]*integritate virginum et continentia viduarum;*[d] *pro æris temperie et fructûm*

Fol. 23 a.—[3]*fœcunditate terrarum;*[d] | *pro pacis* [1]*reditu et fine discriminum; pro* [2]*incolumitate regum et pace populorum ac reditu captivorum; pro* [3]*votis adstantium; pro memoria* [4]*martyrum;* [a]*pro* [5]*remissione* [6]*peccatorum* [7]*nostrorum et actuum emendatione* [r]*eorum; ac requie defunctorum,*[a] *et prosperitate* [8]*itineris nostri; pro domino Papa*[b] *episcopo et omnibus* [9]*episcopis et* [9,10]*presbyteris et omni* [11]*ecclesiastico ordine;* [c]*pro imperio Romano et omnibus regibus* [9]*christianis*[c]*; pro fratribus et sororibus* [9]*nostris; pro fratribus in via* [9]*directis;*

Fol. 23 b.—*pro fratribus quos de* [9]*caliginosis* | *mundi hujus* [1]*tenebris Dominus* [2]*arcessere dignatus est, uti eos in æterna summæ lucis* [3]*quiete* [4]*pietas divina suscipiat;*[a] *pro fratribus qui* [1,5]*variis dolorum generibus* [6]*affliguntur,*[a] *uti eos divina* [4]*pietas curare dignetur;*

pro [7]*spe* [1]*salutis et* [8]*incolumitatis*[b] *suæ, tibi reddunt vota sua* [9]*æterno Deo, vivo et vero:*

[10] *Communicantes,*[c]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 22 b.—[2]intigritate. [3]fecunditate.

Fol. 23 a.—[1]redetu. [2]incolimitate. [3]*i* accented. [4]martirum. [5]remisione. [6]pecatorum. [7]first *o* accented. [8]iteneris. [9]*i* of final *is* accented. [10]prespeteris. [11]first *e* with appended cedilla.

Fol. 23 b.—[1]*i* accented. [2]arcisire. [3]quietae. [4]*a* accented. [5]varis. [6]adfliguntur. [7]*e* accented. [8]incolimitatis. [9]eterno. [10]commonicantes.

(*Collectio post Sanctus.*) . . . pro sacerdotum tuorum et ministrorum omnium puritate . . . pro votis adstantium et omnium commemoratione sanctorum, ac pro requie defunctorum. Per. Mis. Gallic., Missa v.

[d–d]Ετι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ της εὐκρασίας τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν (b).

Fol. 23 a.—[a–a] Given in a Missal quoted by Martene, ubi sup., col. 408.

[b] Papa qualifies episcopo. Cf. folio 22 a.

[c–c] See Mone's first chapter on the Roman Mass (Op. cit. p. 107 sq.), showing these phrases to have reference to the circumstances of Gaul in the fifth century.

Fol. 23 b.—[a–a]Ετι ἀξιοῦμέν σε . . . ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀῤῥωστίαις (b). [b]incolomitatis, B.

[c] *Communicantes, celebrantes,* and *venerantes* (24 b) refer to the subject of *offerunt,* on 22 b.

In Natale Domini:[d]

et diem [11]*sacratissimam celebrantes,*[b] *in qua incontaminata Virginitas huic mundo edidit Salvatorem;*[c]

Kalendarum [*Januarii*]:

et diem [11]*sacratissimam celebrantes circumcisionis Domini* [12]*nostri,* |

Fol. 24a.—[1]*Jesu Christi;*

Stellæ:[a]

et diem [2]*sacratissimam celebrantes*[a] *natalis calicis Domini nostri,* [1]*Jesu Christi;*

[3]*Paschæ:*

et noctem, vel diem, [2]*sacratissimam* [4]*Resurrectionis Domini* [5]*nostri,* [1]*Jesu Christi;*

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 23b.—[11]sacratisimam. [12]*o* accented.

Fol. 24a.—[1]ihesu. [2]sacratisimam. [3]pasca. [4]ressurrectionis. [5]*o* accented.

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[d] (*dicitur in NativitateDomini*), B. *In die* is implied before the Titles in the genitive.

[c] + Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, (*dicitur in Sancto Paschae*) et diem sacratissimum celebrantes resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Filii tui. Sed et memoriam, etc., B. This determines the extent of the additions made in the Text.

Fol. 24a.—This page, which is all erased, contained portion of the Canon which began at the foot of folio 19b. The following can be recovered:—

(The restorations, taken from Moelcaich's Text, are placed within brackets.)

1. minum nrm, supplices te rogamus et petimus,
2. uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona,
3. haec m[unera], haec [sancta] sacrificia,
4. inlibata; [in primis quae tibi offerimus pro tua sancta Eccl-]
5. esia catholica, quam pacificare, custo-
6. dire et unare et regere digneris toto
7. orbe terrarum, una cum beatissimo famu-
8. lo tuo, N., papa [nro, episcopo sedis apostolicæ, et]
9. [omnibus orthodoxis atque apostolicæ fidei] cultoribus
10. [et Abbate nro, N., episcopo. Hic recitantur noa vivorum.]
11. [Memento etiam, Dne, famulorum tuorum, N., famu]
12. larum[que tuarum; et omnium circumadstantium,]
13. [quorum tibi fides] cognita est et nota devotio.

[a] The equivalence of *Stellæ* and *Natalis Calicis* I am unable to explain. *Stellæ*, it may be, like *Albei*, *Corbani*, etc., is a proper name, formed by affixing a Latin termination to an Irish stem. *Steill* (*stell*) is the genitive singular of *Stiall*,

In clausula [6]*Paschæ:*[b]

et diem [2]*sacratissimam celebrantes clausulæ* [7]*Paschæ Domini nostri,* [1]*Jesu Christi;*

Fol. 24 b.— *Ascensio[nis]:*

et diem [1]*sacratissimam celebrantes Ascensionis Domini* [2]*nostri,* [3]*Jesu Christi, ad cœlum;*

[4]*Pentecosten:*[a]

et diem [1]*sacratissimam celebrantes* [5]*quinquagesimæ*[a] *Domini nostri,* [3]*Jesu Christi, in qua Spiritus Sanctus super apostolos* [6]*descendit;*[b] [sed]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 24 a.—[6]pasca. [7]pascae.

Fol. 24 b.—[1]sacratisimam. [2]*o* accented. [3]ihesu. [4]final *e* accented. [5]quinquagensimae. [6]discendit.

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a portion. The meaning would then be the Feast of the Distribution, signifying the Last Supper, with reference to dedit discipulis suis, on folio 26 a.

Natalis Calicis has been treated so satisfactorily by Du Cange, that his Article is worth quotation in full.

Natalis Calicis. Dies Cœnæ Domini appellatur, cujus nomenclaturæ rationem affert Eligius, Noviomens. Episc., Homil. 10. *Vocatur hæc dies Cœna Domini: vocatur et Natalis Calicis; et merito talibus præfulget miraculis, quia hac eadem die mysticum Pascha Dominus cum discipulis celebrans, Sacramenta Corporis et Sanguinis sui illis atque per illos nobis tradidit, et ipse celebrationis initium fecit.* Vita S. Genovefæ, n. 33: *A die sancto Epiphaniæ, usque ad Natalem Calicis, qui est Domini cœnæ, etc.* Ratramnus, Monachus Corbeiensis, lib. 4 contra Græcos, c. 3, ex Vita S. Silvestri, PP.: *Natalem Calicis similiter ut diem Dominicum habere debemus, in quo sacrificium Dominici Corporis et Divini Sanguinis ab ipso Domino celebrationis sumpsit initium.* Græca Eusebii, cui Vitam S. Silvestri adscribit Ratramnus, ut et aliquot Codices MSS., profert eadem Vita a Combefisio edita, p. 268, quo loco πέμπτη ἡμέρα vocatur, quae *Natalis Calicis* Ratramno. Petrus Blesensis, qui in Codd. MSS. *Pictor* cognominatus, in Tract. de S. Eucharistia, c. 13.

Hoc in Natali Calicis non est celebratum,
Quando Pascha novum vetus est post Pascha dicatum.

Extant Homiliæ in *Natalem Calicis* ab Avito Viennensi conscriptæ fragmenta, inter illius opera. *Natalem Calicis,* pro ipsa divina Eucharistia usurpat Paschasius, Abbas Corbeiensis, de Corpore et Sanguine Domini. *Glossarium,* etc., tom. II. coll. 723, 724.

[b]Close of Pasch,—Low Sunday. Cf. Paschæ quoque clausula finita of the Tripartite (p. 40). We can thus amend the corresponding passage in the Armagh Codex (folio 10 a 2): Pasca quoque claussa finita.

Fol. 24 b.—[a]Cf. De Pascha usque Quinquagesimam, etc., Conc. Turon. II. Can. 17.

[b]The eight abraded lines, a reference to

et memoriam venerantes, [7]inprimis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, [8]genitricis[c] Dei et Domini nostri, [3]Jesu Christi; sed et beatorum[d] apostolorum ac [9]martyrum tuorum, Petri et[e] Pauli, [10]Andreæ, Jacobi, [11]Joannis,

Fol. 25a.—Thomæ | et[a] Jacobi, [1]Philippi, Bartholomæi, [2]Matthæi, Simonis et [3]Thaddæi, Lini, [4]Cleti,[b] Clementis, [5]Xysti, [6]Cornelii,[c] [7]Cypriani, [8]Laurentii, [9]Chrysogoni, [10]Joannis et Pauli, [11]Cosmæ et [12]Damiani[d] et omnium sanctorum tuorum[e]: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quam tibi offerimus in honorem Domini[f] nostri, [13]Jesu Christi, et in commemorationem beatorum [14]martyrum tuorum, in hac [15]ecclesia, quam famulus tuus ad honorem nominis gloriæ tuæ ædificavit,[f] [16]quæsumus,

Fol. 25b.—Domine, ut placatus | suscipias,[a] eumque[b] [1]atque omnem populum ab [2]idolorum cultura eripias, et ad [3]te, Deum verum, Patrem omnipotentem, convertas;[b]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 24b.—[7]final *i* accented. [8]genetricis. [9]martirum. [10]Anriae. [11]Johannis.

Fol. 25a.—[1]Pilippi. [2]Mathei. [3]Thathei. [4]Ancleti. [5]Xisti. [6]Cornili, with *o* accented. [7]Cipriani. [8]Laurenti. [9]Crisogini. [10]Johannis. [11]Cosme. [12]Domiani. [13]Ihesu. [14]martirum. [15]aeclesiae. [16]quessumus.

Fol. 25b.—[1]adque. [2]idulorum. [3]*e* accented.

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the reading of the Palimpsest in the Note on the preceding page shows, can have contained no more than the Gelasian Text from qui tibi (fol. 22b) down to Communicantes (23b), together with the *Propria* for Christmas and Easter, as in B. [c]Genetricis, B. [d]Beatissimorum, B. [e]Omitted, B.

Fol. 25a.—[a]Omitted, B. [b]Cliti, B. [c]Cornili, B. [d]+ Hilarii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, Benedicti, et omnium sanctorum tuorum. [e]qui per universum, mundum passi sunt propter nomen tuum, Domine, seu confessoribus tuis, quorum, etc., B. [f–f]omitted, B. Its reading is: in honorem nominis tui, Deus, quæsumus, etc., which is unique. Mabillon has the following remark at this place: Hæc verba "sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ" usque ad "nominis tui Deus", cancellata sunt in veteri codice; item infra pro "accipias" correctum "suscipias". Musæum Italicum, Luteciæ Parisiorum, 1687, p. 280, col. 1, note *a*.

Fol. 25b.—[a]The correction just mentioned brings both Texts into harmony. [b–b]omitted,

Dies quoque[c] nostros in tua pace disponas, atque[d] ab æterna damnatione nos eripias,[e] et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Dominum nostrum.

Quam oblationem [3]te, Deus, in omnibus, [4]quæsumus, benedictam ✠, [5]adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque facere: dignareque[f] [6]nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi [7]Filii tui, Domini nostri, [8]Jesu Christi.

Qui pridie quam [9]pateretur, [10]accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles |

Fol. 26a.—manus suas, elevatis oculis [1]suis[a] ad cælum et[b] ad [2]te, Deum, Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi[b] gratias egit,[c] ben(*e*)dixit, fregit, dedit [3]discipulis [3]suis, [4]dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes;

Hoc est enim Corpus meum.

Simili[d] modo, posteaquam [5]cœnatum,[e] [6]accepit[f] et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas; item tibi gratias [7]agens, benedixit, dedit [3]discipulis[g] [3]suis, [4]dicens: Accipite et bibete ex hoc omnes;

Hic est enim Calix sancti[h] Sanguinis mei, novi et æterni testamenti; [8]mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in [9]remissionem[i] peccatorum.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 25b.—[4]quesumus. [5]ascriptam. [6]*i* accented. [7]Fili. [8]Ihesu. [9]patiretur. [10]accipit.

Fol. 26a.—[1]*i* accented. [2]*e* accented. [3]*i* accented in final syllable. [4]diciens. [5]cenatum. [6]accipit. [7]agiens. [8]misterium. [9]remisionem.

B. [c] que, B. [d]adque, B. [e]eripi, B. [f]digneris, quae, B. On *quæ* Mabillon has a note: Ita primaria manu, secundaria "ut." *Loc. cit.*

Though unsupported, the reading of the Text is as good as that of the other MSS. "Which oblation we beseech thee, God, to," etc.; "deign also that it become," etc.

Fol. 26a.—[a]The presence of *suis* is peculiar to this, and the B-Text. [b]omitted, B. [c]agens, B. The *e* of benedixit, which was omitted in the original, was placed overhead by Moelcaich. Cf. Fintendnum, *infra*, p. 239. [d]simile, B. [e]+ est, B. [f]Same in B.; usual reading is accipiens. [g]discipolis, B. [h]This reading is also in B, according to Mabillon. Additum erat "sancti," sed postea tribus obelis expunctum, p. 280, col. 2, note *d*. It is found in no other MS.—a fact which goes far to establish that the transcriptions of the Stowe and Bobio were made from a common archetype.

[i]Remisione, B. This doubtless arose in numberless instances from neglect in placing the sign of contraction (⁻) over the vowel.

Hæc [10]quotiescumque [11]feceritis, in mei *memoriam* [12]*facietis*, *passionem*[k]
Fol. 26b.—*meam* [13]*prædicabitis*, *resurrectionem meam* [14]*annuntiabitis*, | *adventum meum sperabitis*, *donec iterum veniam ad* [1]*vos de* [2]*cœlis.*[k]

Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos, servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi, Filii tui, Domini nostri, tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab [3]inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cælos gloriosæ ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de [2]tuis [2]donis ac [2]datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam; panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et calicem salutis perpetuæ.

Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu [4]aspicere dignare,[a] et [5]accepta[b] habere, sicuti [5]accepta[b] habere [6]dignatus es munera pueri tui justi, Abel et

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 26a.—[10]quotienscunque. [11]feceretis. [12]faciatis. [13]predicabitis. [14]adnuntiabitis.
Fol. 26b.—[1]*o* accented. [2]*i* accented. [3]imferis. [4]aspicire. [5]acceptu. [6]*u* accented.

[k–k]Omitted, B. *Memoriam faciatis* originally stood on 26b. The alteration occupies two lines on the lower margin of this page, together with a marginal line and the writing space which contained *memoriam faciatis* on the following folio. Facietis, B. These clauses, with *mortem* for *passionem* and *de cœlis* before *veniam*, are found in the Ambrosian Liturgy. Martene, ubi sup., col. 485.

Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ πίνητε τὸ
ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω.

[1. Cor. xi. 26] Clementine Liturgy, Consecration Formula.

τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν
ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.

Lit. of St. James, ib.

Mortem meam annuntiabitis et resurrectionem meam confitebimini, donec veniam. Lit. of St. James (Syriac), ib.

τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ανάστασιν ὁμολογεῖτε.

Anaphora of St. Basil, ib.

τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ανάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθω.

Liturgy of St. Mark, ib.

From the foregoing we can infer that Moelcaich's additions formed part of the Consecration formula in Ba (14).

Fol. 26b.—[a]Aspicere dignare is also the reading of B. Correxit nonnemo antiqua manu, ut alia, "respicere digneris." Mabillon, p. 281, col. 1, note *e*. [b]acceptum, B.

Fol. 27a.—sacrificium | [1]patriarchæ nostri, [2]Abrahæ et quod tibi [3]obtulit[a] summus sacerdos tuus, Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, [4]immaculatam hostiam.

[5]Supplices [6]te rogamus [b]et petimus,[b] omnipotens Deus, jube [hæc] perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in[c] sublimi altari tuo,[c] in conspectu divinæ [7]majestatis tuæ; ut quotquot ex[d] hoc altari sanctificationis[d] sacrosanctum Filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem [8]sumpserimus, omni benedictione[e] et gratia [9]repleamur.

Fol. 27b.—Memento etiam, Domine, et eorum,—nomina[f]— | qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis.[a]

Cum[b] [1]omnibus[c] in toto [1]mundo [1]offerentibus [1]sacrificium [1]spiritale Deo, [1]Patri et Filio et [1]Spiritui Sancto, [1]sanctis ac [1]venerabilibus [1]sacerdotibus [1]offert [1]senior noster, N., [1,2]presbyter,[d] pro [1,3]se et pro [1,4]suis; et

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 27a.—[1]patriarche. [2]abrache. [3]obtilit. [4]inmaculatam. [5]suplices. [6]*e* accented [7]maistatis. [8]sumserimus. [9]replemur.

Fol. 27b.—[1]Full stop after this word. [2]præspiter. [3]*e* accented. [4]*u* accented.

Fol. 27a.—[a]Optulit, B. [b–b]omitted in B. The insertion arose, perhaps, from the scribe remembering rogamus et petimus in the opening of the Canon. [c–c]same, with altario for altari, in B. [d–d]hac altaris participatione, B,—the common reading. [e]+ cœlesti, B; omitted, probably by oversight, in the Text.

[f]Nomina, there can be little doubt, is the full form of NN., usually placed in commemorative Prayers.

Fol. 27b.—[a]+ *commemoratio defunctorum*, B. [b]The construction is: Cum omnibus sacerdotibus offerentibus offert senior noster . . . pro commemorando gradu patriarcharum, Abelis, etc. (All the proper names are in distributive apposition with patriarcharum, etc.), ut pro nobis Dominum Deum exorare dignentur.

[c]Ετι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ παντῶν τῶν ἀπ αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν καὶ πάντων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τὰ ὀνόματα (b).

[d]As this Prayer was undoubtedly choral, the pointing most probably was employed to mark the pauses in the recitation. Otherwise it is unmeaning.

[e]Presbyter here includes bishops; the present being one of the offices possessed in

pro [1]totius [1]ecclesiæ [1,5]cœtu [1,6]catholicæ; et pro [1]commemorando [1,7]athletico [1]gradu [1]venerabilium [1]patriarcharum, [1,8]prophetarum, apostolorum et [1,9]martyrum et omnium [quo]que [1]sanctorum, ut pro [10]nobis Dominum, Deum nostrum, exorare dignentur,—

Fol. 30 a.—[1]Abelis, [2]Seth, [3]Henoch, Noe, Melchisedech, [4]Abrahæ, [5]Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Job, [6]Moysi, [7]Josue, Samuelis, David, [8]Eliæ, [9]Elisei; [10]Isaiæ, [11]Jeremiæ, [12]Ezechielis, Danielis, [13]Esdræ; [14]Osee, [15]Joel, Amos, Abdiæ, Jonæ, [16]Michææ, [17]Nahum, [18]Habacuc, Sophoniæ, [19]Aggææ, [20]Zachariæ, Malachiæ; Tobiæ; Ananiæ, Azariæ, [21]Misaelis; [22]Machabæorum item infantum; [23]Joannis Baptistæ et Virginis Mariæ; Petri, Pauli, [24]Andreæ, Jacobi, [23]Joannis, [25]Philippi, [26]Bartholomæi, [27]Thomæ, [28]Matthæi, |

Fol. 30 b.—Jacobi, Simonis, [1]Thaddæi, [2]Matthiæ, Marci, Lucæ; [3]Stephani, [4]Cornelii, [5]Cypriani et [6]cæterorum [7]martyrum; Pauli, [8]Antonii et [6]cæterorum patrum [7]eremi [8]Scythi:[a]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 27 b.—[1] Full stop after this word. [5]cetu. [6]catholice. [7]anathletico. [8]profetarum. [9]martirum. [10]*i* accented.

Fol. 30 a.—[1]Ablis. [2]zeth. [3]enoc, with *o* accented. [4]abrache. [5]isac. [6]mosi. [7]essu. [8]heliæ. [9]helessiæ. [10]essaiæ. [11]heremiæ. [12]ezechelis. [13]hestre. [14]osse. [15]iohel. [16]michiæ. [17]nauum. [18]ambucuc. [19]agiæ. [20]sachariæ. [21]misahelis. [22]*e* for *æ*. [23]iohannis. [24]andriæ. [25]pilipi. [26]barthalomæ. [27]tomæ. [28]mathei.

Fol. 30 b.—[1]tathei. [2]madiani. Repeated by an oversight in the MS. The scribe placed three marks of elision overhead. [3]stefani. [4]cornili. [5]cipriani. [6]ceterorum. [7]martirum. [8]antoni. [7]heremi. [8]sciti.

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common by both. Cf. Col. Can. Hib., Lib. II. Cap. 4. *De similitudine et distantia ministerii episcopi et presbiteri.* Isidorus (de Off. II. 1, 2.) de presbiteris ait: His vero sicut episcopis dispensatio ministerii Dei commissa est. Præsunt enim ecclesiæ Christi et in conpositione divina Corporis et Sanguinis consortes cum episcopis sunt, etc.

Fol. 30 b—[a] "In this part (Lower Egypt) were three deserts almost adjoining each other; that of Scete, so called from a town of the same name on the borders of Lybia." Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, St. Macarius, Jan. 2.

In exemplis sanctorum frater quidam applicuit in Sciti. Pœn. Bigot. VI., c. III. 3.

For the following excerpts I am indebted to

Item episcoporum Martini, [9]Gregorii, Maximi, Felicis; [10]Patricii, [10]Patricii,[b] Secundini,[c] [11]Auxilii,[d] Isernini,[e] [12]Cerbani,[f] Erci,[g] Catheri,[h] Ibori,[i] Ailbi, Conlai,[j] Maicnissæ,[k] Moinenn,[l] Senani,[m] Finbarri, Colmani,[n] [13]Cuani,[o] Declach,[p] [13]Laurentii,[q] [14]Melleti, Justi,[q] Aedo,[r] Dagani,[s] Tigernich,[t] Muchti,[u] Ciannani,[v] Buiti,[w] Eogeni,[x] Declani,[y] Carthain,[z] |

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 30 b.—[9]grigori. [10]patrici. [11]auxili. [12]*a* accented. [13]laurenti. [14]*e* accented.

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the Right Rev. Dr. Graves—(1) The Title of Cassian's work: Collationes Patrum, in Scythica eremo commorantium; (2) Danielem, æqualem quidem in omni virtutum genere his qui in eremo Scythi commanebant, Collat. IV., cap. 1; (3) Denique et ab his qui erant in eremo Scyti commorantes, quique perfectione ac scientia omnibus qui erant in Ægypti monasteriis præeminebant, Collat. X. cap. 2; (4) Memini cujusdam senis cum in eremo Scythi commorarer. Institut. XI., cap. XV.

The Gallican bishops are Martin of Tours, 397; Gregory of Tours, 596; Maximus of Riez, 462; and Felix of Nantes, 584.

[b]458. [c]447. [d]Killossy, Co. Kildare, 460. [e]Coadjutor of St. Patrick. [f]Fert-Cerbain, north-east of Tara, 504. [g]Slane, 513. [h]given as Cathar in the List of Bishops in the Book of Leinster, 365 δ. Most probably, disciple of St. Patrick. [i]Beg-Erin, Wexford, 500. [j]Not locally identified. Is not of Kildare, 520, as Mart. of Tallaght has (L.L. 360 *a*) Condlæd, Cilli dara and (ib. ε) Condlai, Episcopi. So, too, in the List of Bishops we find Conlæd (365 η) and Conlæ (ib. δ). [k]Connor, 519. [l]Clonfert, 570. [m]Scattery Island, 544. [n]Cloyne, 600. This is the last name on the third column; the first on the next is Cuani. Between Colmani and Finbarri another name stood. This was erased, except the final syllable *ni*, and an accent which stood over a vowel next before the *n*. The amount of abraded space and the accent on Cuani of the fourth column prove that Cuani was a duplicate. Accordingly, the first was removed by the scribe.

[o]Gallen, King's Co., 6th century.

[p]A point, perhaps a punctum delens, is placed over the *h*. I can suggest no explanation, except that the word was meant for Declani. I have been unable to find a genitive Declach in our Hagiography. [q-q]Second, third, and fourth Archbishops of Canterbury. [r]Killare, Westmeath, 588. [s]Achad-Dagain, probably in the neighbourhood of Killaloe; 7th century. He is the *Daganus episcopus* mentioned twice in the Letter of Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus to the Irish bishops and abbots, the opening of which is preserved in Bede, H. E., II. 4. His feast is March 12, Book of Leinster, 357 *a*. Dagan of Inber Doile (Ennereilly, near Arklow) was a presbyter: Idibus Septembris. Dagan[i], presbyteri, maic Colmada, Inbir Doile, L. L., 362 ε. [t]Clones, 548. [u]Louth, 534. [v]Duleek, 488. [w]Monasterboice, 521. [x]Ardstraw, Tyrone, 617. [y]Ardmore, *circa* 540. [z]Clogher, 506.

Fol. 31 a.—Maile,[a] Ruen:[b]

Item et sacerdotum Vinniani,[c] Ciarani,[d] Oengusso,[e] Endi,[f] [1]Gildæ,[g] Brendini, Brendini, Cainnichi, [2]Columbæ, [2]Columbæ, Colmani,[h] Comgelli, Coemgeni;

Et omnium pausantium, qui [3]nos in dominica pace [4]præcesserunt, ab Adam usque in hodiernum diem,[1] quorum Deus nomina nominavit[1] et novit.

Ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, |

Fol. 31 b.—lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur.

[1]Nobis quoque peccatoribus, [1]famulis[a] tuis, de multitudine [2]miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare dignare,[b] cum [1]tuis sanctis [1]apostolis et [3]martyribus, —[c]cum Petro, Paulo, Patricio;[c] cum [4]Joanne, [5]Stephano, [6]Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, [7]Alexandro, Marcellino,[d] Petro; Perpetua, Agna, [8]Cæcilia, Felicitate, [9]Anastasia,[d] Agatha, Lucia; et cum omnibus sanctis [1]tuis: intra [10]quorum nos consortia, non[e] æstimatis

Fol. 32 a.—meritis, sed venia,[e] | [1]quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per [Christum, Dominum nostrum].

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 31 a.—[1]gilde. [2]columbe. [3]*o* accented. [4]precesserunt.

Fol. 31 b.—[1]*i* accented. [2]misserationum. [3]martiribus. [4]johanne. [5]stefano. [6]mathia. [7]alaxandro. [8]cecilia. [9]anastassia. [10]corum; i. e., *c* = *qu*.

Fol. 32 a.—[1]quessumus.

Fol. 31 a.—[a]Ardagh, 487. [b]phonetic form of Ruadain; the infected *d* was not pronounced, and ai = e. [c]Finian of Clonard, 548. [d]Clonmacnoise, 548. [e]Oenu (Abbot of Clonmacnoise), 570, is the only one of the name given in the List of Priests in the Book of Leinster, 366 *a*. [f]Aran, *circa* 540. [g]the elder, 512. [h]Lynally, King's Co., 610.

Note: j, k, l, p, r, t, u, w, z, on 30 b, and a, b, e, on 31 a, are genitives formed in accordance with the rules of Old Irish Declension.

[1-1] Cf. the clause in the concluding sentence of the Martyrology of Tallaght (L. L. 365 γ): Sanctorum cæterorum, quorum Deus nomina nominavit.

Fol. 31 b.—[a]Famolis, B. [b]digneris, B.

[c-c] Omitted, B. [d-d]This is the order in B. But the second hand altered the sequence to assimilate it to the Gelasian Text: Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agathe, Agne, etc., with Eogenia after Lucia. [e-e]stimator meriti sed veniæ, B.

Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas ✠, sanctificas ✠, vivificas ✠, benedicis ✠, et [2]præstas [3]nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi Deo, Patri omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.[a] *Ter canitur.*

Isund conogabar ind ablu [3]tuair forsin cailech,
ocus fobdidithir leth na bairgine isin cailuch.
[Hic elevatur Oblatio principalis super calicem,
et submergitur dimidium Panis in calice.]

Fiat,[b] Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum [4]speravimus in [5]te. [Ps. xxxii. 22.]

Isund conbongar in bairgen. [Hic confringitur Panis.]

Cognoverunt Dominum, *alleluia*, in fractione panis, alleluia. [Luc. xxiv. 35.]

Fol. 32b.—Panis quem frangimus | Corpus est Domini nostri, [1]Jesu Christi, alleluia. Calix quem benedicimus, alleluia, Sanguis est Domini nostri, [1]Jesu Christi, *alleluia*, in [2]remissionem peccatorum nostrorum, *alleluia.* [Cf. 1 Cor. x. 16.]

Fiat,[a] *Domine,* [3]*misericordia tua super* [4]*nos, alleluia, quemadmodum speravimus in* [5]*te, alleluia.* [Ps. xxxii. 22.]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 32a.—[2]prestas. [3]*i* accented. [4]sperabimus. [5]*e* accented.
Fol. 32b.—[1]Ihesu. [2]remisionem. [3]missericordia. [4]*o* accented. [5]*e* accented.

Fol. 32a.—[a]In B the introduction to the Pater Noster follows immediately. Next, the Embolismus; *Post Communionem;* and *Consummatio Missæ.*

[b]It is hardly necessary to remark that from Fiat to perfruamur (fol. 33a) is not contained in the Gelasian Canon.

Fol. 32b.—[a]Note here good examples of the old Text incorporated in the new. The Capitals D (of Divino) and (two lines below) L (of Libera) in the Palimpsest under nostrorum show that the addition was *Credimus—Per Dominum.* That the Prayer was contained in Bβ(15) can be concluded from the fact that

Cognoverunt[a] *Dominum, alleluia.* [Luc. xxiv. 35.]

Credimus, Domine, credimus in [6]*hac confractione Corporis et* [7]*effusione*[b] *Sanguinis* [4]*nos esse redemptos; et*[c] *confidimus, sacramenti*[1] *hujus* [8]*assumptione muniti, ut quod*[c] [5]*spe*[d] *interim hic*[d] *tenemus,*[e] *mansuri in cœlestibus* |

Fol. 33 a.—[1]*veris fructibus perfruamur.*[e] *Per Dominum.*

Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione formati, [2]*audemus* [3]*dicere:*[a] *Pater noster,* [et] *reliqua.*

Libera [4]*nos, Domine, ab omni malo,* [5]*præterito,* [6]*præsenti et futuro; et, intercedentibus*[b] *pro* [1]*nobis*[c] [1]*beatis* [1]*apostolis* [1]*tuis, Petro et Paulo, Patricio,*[d] [7]*da propitius pacem tuam in diebus* [4,1]*nostris, ut ope* [8]*misericordiæ tuæ adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per Dominum.*

Fol. 33 b.—[7]*Pax et caritas Domini nostri,* [9]*Jesu Christi,* | *et* [1]*communicatio sanctorum omnium sit semper* [2]*vobiscum.*

Et cum Spiritu tuo. [Cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 13.]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 32 b.—[6]*a* accented. [7]effussione. [8]adsumptione.

Fol. 33 a.—[1]*i* accented. [2]audimus. [3]dicire. [4]*o* accented. [5]preterite. [6]presenti. [7]*a* accented. [8]missericordiæ. [9]Ihesu.

Fol. 33 b.—[1]commonicatio. [2]*i* accented.

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it is found as a *Post Secreta* in the Gothic Missal. (Missa, lxxviii.) The variants are the following:—[b]+ tui. [c–c]confidimus etiam quod. [d–d]hic interim jam. [e–e]in æternum perfrui mereamur.

Fol. 33 a.—[a]Same reading in B; with *formati* omitted. Compare the St. Gall Fragment. The second hand changed it from the Gallican to the Roman formula: Oremus. Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere. [b]singular, B. Pro nobis, given in both MSS., is wanting in the Gelasian.

[c]+ beata et gloriosa semperque virgine (Dei genitrice, added by the second hand, to bring the Text into harmony with the Gelasian) Maria et, B.

[d]Omitted, B: a proof—bearing in mind that the names to be introduced here were left to the celebrant's option—that the Bobio Missal was not compiled for an Irish church. Two points in which the Stowe, St. Gall, and Bobio agree with each other and differ from the other copies of the Gelasian Embolismus are the omission of *Andrea* and the insertion of *tuam* after *pacem.*

Pacem[a] *mandasti, pacem dedisti, pacem* [3]*dereliquisti.*[a] [John xiv. 27.]

Pacem[a] *tuam, Domine,* [4]*da* [2]*nobis de* [5]*cœlo, et pacificum hunc diem et* [6]*cœteros dies vitæ* [7]*nostræ in tua pace* [4]*disponas. Per Dominum.*[a]

Commixtio[a] *Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri,* [8]*Jesu Christi, sit* [2]*nobis* [9]*salus in vitam perpetuam. Amen.*[a]

Ecce[a] *agnus Dei; ecce qui* [10]*tollit peccata mundi.*[a] [John i. 29.]

Fol. 34 a.—*Pacem meam do* [2]*vobis, alleluia;* | *pacem relinquo* [1]*vobis, alleluia.* [John xiv. 27.]

Pax[a] *multa diligentibus legem tuam, Domine, alleluia; et non est in* [2]*illis scandalum, alleluia.* [Ps. cxviii. 165.]

Regem cœli cum pace, alleluia,
Plenum odorem vitæ, alleluia,—
Novum carmen cantate, alleluia,
Omnes sancti, venite, alleluia.[a]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 33 b.—[3] dirilinquisti. [4] *a* accented. [5] *e* with cedilla. [6] oeteros. [7] *o* accented. [8] Ihesu. [9] *u* accented. [10] tollis.

Fol. 34 a.—[1] *i* accented. [2] final *i* accented.

Fol. 33b.—[a-a]A comparison with the St. Gall Fragment shows these four to be additions of Moelcaich. The internal evidence is decisive respecting *Credimus* (32b), *Pacem tuam*, and *Commixtio*. Being Orations, they are out of place here, amongst the Antiphons which were chanted by the Choir during the Fraction and Administration of Communion. As the Rubric of the St. Gall prescribes: Juxta Communionem canitur. That is, antiphonal chanting took place during Communion, whilst the Celebrant, whose office it was to recite the Prayers, was engaged at the Distribution. And in the Antiphonary of Bangor (folio 10 b 2), a Hymn (given infra, pp. 237-8) has the heading: Ymnus quando commonicarent sacerdotes.

Fol. 34a.—[a-a]Addition. Note the quatrain, with the lines parisyllabic and rhymed. Cf. Nigra: Rimam a legibus assonantiæ Celticæ originem ducere affirmare non dubito . . . . Prima itaque rimæ certa exempla inveniuntur in solo Celtico, apud Celticas gentes, in carminibus conditis a poetis qui vel Celticæ originis sunt, vel apud Celticas gentes diu commoraverunt. This allusion is to SS. Ambrose and Augustine. Concludendum est, igitur, versum romanicum, accentu ligatum et pari syllabarum numero oriri potuisse ex duplicis causæ concursu, nempe a naturali explicatione latinæ linguæ et ab exemplo, pariter efficaci, affinium

Venite, comedite panem meum, alleluia, et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis, alleluia. [Prov. ix. 5.]

Dominus [3]*regit me.* [Ps. xxii. 1.]

Qui manducat Corpus meum, et bibit meum Sanguinem, alleluia, ipse in me manet, [et] *ego in illo, alleluia.* [John vi. 57.]

Domini est terra. [Ps. xxiii. 1.]

Fol. 34 b.—*Hic*[b] *est panis vivus,* | *qui de* [1]*cœlo* [2]*descendit, alleluia; qui manducat ex eo, vivet in æternum, alleluia.* [John vi. 59.]

Ad [3]*te, Domine, levavi animam meam.* [Ps. xxiv. 1.]

Panem[a] *cœli dedit* [5]*eis Dominus, alleluia; panem angelorum manducavit homo, alleluia.*[a] [Ps. lxxvii. 24, 25.]

Judica [3]*me, Domine.* [Ps. vii. 9.]

Comedite, amici mei, alleluia; et inebriamini, [4]*charissimi, alleluia.* [Cantic. v. 1.]

Hoc[b] *sacrum Corpus Domini,*
Salvatoris Sanguinem, alleluia,
Sumite [5]*vobis*
In vitam [6]*æternam, alleluia.*[b]

In[c] [7]*labiis* [4]*meis meditabor* [8]*hymnum, alleluia; cum docueris* [3]*me, et ego* [9]*justitias respondebo, alleluia.*[c] [Cf. Ps. cxviii. 171.]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 34 a.—[3] reget.

Fol. 34 b.—[1] celo. [2] discendit. [3] *e* accented. [4] carissimi. [5] *i* accented. [6] eternam. [7] labis, with *i* accented. [8] ymnum. [9] iustias.

Celticorum populorum; sed rimam, seu assonantiam finalem, solis Celticæ phonologiæ legibus derivatam esse. Glossæ Hib. Cod. Taur. 1869, p. xxix., xxxi–ii.

Compare the last line with the opening of the Bangor Hymn. The quatrain is written across the page, without any distinction, in the MS. [b]Hic – æternum, alleluia, is the sixth Communion Antiphon in the Antiphonary of Bangor.

Fol. 34 b.—[a–a]Addition. [b–b]written continuously. Fourth in the Antiphonary of Bangor, with et before Salvatoris and perennem for æternam, as in St. Gall. Cf. the first stanza of the Bangor *Sancti.* [c–c]Second Bangor Antiphon.

Fol. 35a.—*Benedicam*[d] *Dominum in omni tempore, alleluia;* | *semper* [1]*laus ejus in ore meo, alleluia.*[d] [Ps. xxxiii. 1.]

Gustate[a] *et videte, alleluia, quam suavis est Dominus, alleluia.*[a] [Ps. xxxiii. 9.]

Ubi ego fuero, alleluia, ibi erit et minister meus, alleluia. [John xii. 26.]

Sinite parvulos venire ad [2]*me, alleluia, et nolite eos prohibere, alleluia; talium est enim regnum cœlorum, alleluia.* [Mat. xix. 14.]

[3]*Pœnitentiam agite, alleluia;* [4]*appropinquavit enim regnum* [5]*cœlorum, alleluia.* [Mat. iii. 2.]

Regnum [5]*cœlorum vim patitur, alleluia; et violenti rapiunt illud, alleluia.* [Mat. xi. 12.]

Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete regnum, alleluia, quod [6]*vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, alleluia.* [Mat. xxv. 34.]

Gloria. Venite. Sicut erat. Venite.

[7]*Moel* [6]*caich scripsit.*

Fol. 35b.—Quos[a] cælesti, Domine, dono satiasti, præsta ut et[b] a nostris emundemur[c] occultis, et ab [1]hostium liberemur [2]insidiis.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 35 a.—[1] *u* accented. [2] *e* accented. [3] penitentiam. [4] adpropinquavit. [5] celorum. [6] *i* accented. [7] *o* accented.

Fol. 35 b.—[1] ostium. [2] insidis.

[d–d] Addition.

Fol. 35a.—[a–a] Addition; third in Bangor. All the Antiphons which I judge to have been contained on the Palimpsest could not, it is true, be written on twenty-three lines (ten, namely, of 32b, and the whole of 35a). But the explanation is that in most instances the first and last words only of the Scriptural excerpts were given; being connected, as on folio 15a, by *usque*.

It may not be out of place to append the remaining Antiphons of the Bangor MS.

(1.) Corpus Domini accipimus, et Sanguine ejus potati sumus; ab omni malo non timebimus, quia Dominus nobiscum est.

(5.) Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, Domine. [Ps. cxviii., 103.]

(7.) Refecti Christi Corpore et Sanguine, tibi semper, Domine, dicamus: Alleluia.

Fol. 35 b.—[a] Gelasian. Headed *Post-communionem* in B.

[b] omitted, B. [c] mundemur, B.

[d]Gratias tibi agimus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui nos Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, Filii tui, [3]communione satiasti; tuamque [4]misericordiam humiliter postulamus,[e] ut hoc tuum, Domine, sacramentum non sit [5]nobis reatus ad [6]pœnam, sed intercessio salutaris ad veniam: sit ablutio scelerum, sit fortitudo fragilium, sit contra mundi

Fol. 36a.—[7]pericula[f] firmamen | tum.

Hæc[a] nos[b] [1]communio purget a [2]crimine, et cælestis [3]gaudii tribuat esse participes. Per.

[4]Missa[a] acta est.

In pace.[a]

[5]*Missa* APOSTOLORUM ET [6]MARTYRUM ET SANCTORUM ET [7]SANCTARUM [8]VIRGINUM.

Deum[b] Patrem, Deum Filium, Deum Spiritum Sanctum, unum et solum Dominum dominantium, et regem regnantium, et gloriam futurorum,

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 35 b.—[3]commonione. [4]misseriicordiam. The portion of the leaf containing *is* was worn away in the abrasion of 35a. [5]*i* accented. [6]penam. [7]periculo.

Fol. 36 a.—[1]commonio. [2]cremine. [3]gaudi. [4]Misa. [5]Misa, with *i* accented. [6]martirum. [7]sanctatarum; i.e. dittography. [8]virguinum.

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[d]+(Consummatio Missae), title in B. Leonine.

[e]postolamus, B. [f]pericola, B.

Μεταλαβόντες τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἀλλ' εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς φυλακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Clem. Lit., *Post com.*

Fol. 36a.—[a-a] Missa acta est I take to be a Versicle, chanted by the Celebrant; and In pace, Response given by the Choir.

[b]Leonine. [c]+ Domine, B.

[b-b] In ernaigthib huasalathrach; i tairchetlaib fatha; hi praiceptaib apstal; in hiresaib fuismedach; in endgai noebingen; hingnimaib fer firen: In the prayers of noble fathers (patriarchs); in the predictions of prophets; in the precepts of apostles; in the faith of confessors; in the purity of holy virgins; in the deeds of righteous men. Irish Hymn of St. Patrick.

Two Hymns connected with St. Patrick are mentioned in the Book of Armagh.

(1) Secunda petitio, ut quicunque ymnum qui

[c]per [9]privilegia clara patriarcharum, per gloriosa presagia [10]prophetarum, per sancta merita apostolorum, per [11]martyria [6]martyrum, per fidem confessorum, per sanctitatem virginum, per [12]theoricam[c] vitam [13]ana— |

Fol. 36b.—choretarum,[b] per silentium spiritale [1]monachorum, [a]per episcoporum ac abbatum catholicorum principatum,[a] [2]innixis ac continuis orationibus fideliter [3]obsecremus [4]specialiter hoc per sancta [5]suffragia [b]sanctorum, vel sanctarum virginum,[b] quorum hodie [6]solemnitas [7]a [2]nobis celebratur, ut hæc oblatio plebis tuæ, quam sanctæ [8]Trinitati in honorem

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 36a.—[9] prevelegia. [10] profetarum. [11] marteria. [12] teoricum. [13] anchoritarum.

Fol. 36b.—[1] munachorum. [2] final *i* accented. [3] opsecremus. [4] spicialiter. [5] sufragia. [6] sollemnitas, with accent on *i*. [7] accented. [8] trinitate.

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de te compossitus est, etc., folio 8a 1. Ymnum ejus per totum tempus cantare, folio 16a 1.

This is the alphabetical Hymn composed in Latin by St. Secundinus, during the lifetime of the National Apostle. It begins: Audite, omnes amantes.

(2) Canticum ejus Scotticum semper canere, folio 16a 1. This is the Irish Hymn said to have been composed by St. Patrick to protect himself and his companions against those who were placed in ambush to destroy them on the way to Tara.

[c]Contemplative. Formed from *θεωρία*. The loan-word *teoir* is found in Irish. Isin cetna frithaire na hodchi [lege hoidchi] nochanad .c. salm ocus dognid .cc. slechtain; isin [f]rithaire tanaise inusci uar; isin tress frithaire i teoir: In the first watch of the night, he used to chant a hundred psalms, and he used to make two hundred prostrations; in the second watch, in cold water; in the third watch, in meditation. L. B., 29a. Tri ·l· ri teoir . . . ocus lx. fri hactail: thrice fifty for contemplation and sixty for active life. Ib. 33a.

Fol. 36b.—[a-a]Book xxxvii. of the Coll. Can. Hib. is entitled: *De Principatu.*

In der irischen Kirche wurden sowohl die Aebte als die Bischöfe vielfach als *principes* bezeichnet: xviii. 6. a: *principi i.e. abbati suo;* 7: *rogabit principem loci;* xxi. 31: *De monacho non debente inire judicium cum principe;* xxxvii. 7: *Oportet eum, qui vult principari, prius monachum esse;* 30: *Definimus omnem principem non ordinandum, nisi vocatis clericis . . consentientibus;* 21: *cavendum est principi, ne male regat ecclesiam suam;* xli. 2: *De principe aut episcopo . . .;* 4. *c*: *Testamentum episcopi sive principis.* Vergl. auch xxx. 14, 15, 18, 24, 37; xli. 3; xlii. 32; xliii. 6; xliv. 20 und *Du Cange, Gloss.*, s.v. *Princeps* (Paris, 1845, T.v. p. 446, col. 3).

Wasserschleben: *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 2te Aufl., Leipzig, 1885, p. liii.

[b-b]Of the alternative words here and on folio 39a, that suitable to the festival was employed.

eorum, N., offerimus, acceptabilis fiat Deo, cunctis proficiat ad salutem. Per.

Domine, Deus noster, [9]Jesu Christe, splendor paternæ gloriæ, et dies

Fol. 37a.—claritatis | æternæ, gratias tibi agimus, quoniam accendere dignatus [1]es xii apostolos tuos igne Spiritus Sancti tui, quasi xii horas diei lumine solis [2]illustratas, quibus dixisti: Vos estis lux mundi [Mat. v. 14]; et iterum: Nonne xii horæ diei [3]sunt, si quis, ergo, ambulaverit in lumine diei, hic non offendit [John xi. 9]: orire [4]nobis, Domine, Deus noster, [5]Jesu Christe, sol justitiæ, in cujus [4]pennis est sanitas timentibus [1]te [Malach. iv. 2], ut ambulemus in luce, dum lucem habemus, ut simus filii lucis: qui [6]illuminasti apostolos, quasi luminaria huic mundo, et alios

Fol. 37b.—Sanctos, quasi tuos | vel eorum vicarios, gratia Spiritus Sancti ac doctrina [1]præditos, discute a [2]nobis tenebras ignorantiæ, et justitiæ tuæ [a][lumen immitte?][a] per horum patrocinia, N., quorum festivitas hodie colitur, ut in te et per [3]te semper [4]maneamus. Per.

Deus qui nos sanctorum tuorum [5]beatissimorum spirituum, angelorum archangelorumque, principum et potestatum, dominationum, virtutum, [6]cherubim et [7]seraphim, patriarcharum, [8]prophetarum, apostolorum, [9]martyrum confessorumque et virginum, [10]anachoretarum, [11]cœnobialium, omniumque sanctorum concivium supernorum et intercessionibus [12]gloriosis

Fol. 38a.—circumdas et protegis, | [1]præsta, [1]quæsumus, eorum et

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 36b.—[9]Ihesu.

Fol. 37a.—[1]*e* accented. [2]inlustratas. [3]*u* accented. [4]*i* accented. [5]Ihesu. [6]inluminasti.

Fol. 37b.—[1]preditos. [2]*i* accented. [3]*i* accented. [4]manemus. [5]beatisimorum. [6]ciruphin, with second *i* accented. [7]saraphin. [8]profetarum. [9]martirum. [10]anchoritarum. [11]coenovium. [12]accent on final *i*.

Fol. 38a.—[1]*e* for æ.

Fol. 37b.—[a-a]The sense requires the insertion of these or similar words. The omission, very likely, arose from homœoteleuton.

[2]imitatione proficere et interpellatione tueri; et, intercedentibus sanctis, a [3]cunctis [4]nos defende periculis. Per.

Domine, Deus omnipotens, qui sanctos tuos cum mensura probas et sine mensura glorificas, cujus [1]præcepta finem habent, et [1]præmia terminum non habent; exaudi preces nostras per [5]martyria et merita illorum, et tribue [ut] eorum patrocinia adjuvent nos ad fidei profectum, ad bonorum operum fructum, ad prosperitatis bonum, ad salubritatis commodum, ad religionis |

Fol. 38b.—cultum, ad divini timoris augmentum. Orent pro [1]nobis sancti [2]martyres, et pro [3]defunctis nostris, et pro pecoribus, et pro omnibus terræ nostræ fructibus, et pro omnibus in hoc loco commorantibus.

[4]Te, omnipotentem Deum, creaturarum cælestium et terrestrium [5]innumerabiles [5]multitudines, sanctorum tuorum et angelorum chori, incessabili voce proclamant, dicentes: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

Dignum et justum, [6]æquum et justum et gloriosum est, nos tibi semper gratias agere, omnibus diebus vitæ nostræ, Domine, deus omnipotens, |

Fol. 39a.—sed in hac die [1]gratius et [2]abundantius debemus gratulari cum gaudio Spiritus Sancti solemnitatem apostolorum, N., sive sanctorum, vel sanctarum, N. [3]Præsta ergo [4]nobis, omnipotens Deus, fidem, spem et caritatem, et catholicum finem ac pacificum, per merita ac commemoratione[m] sanctorum tuorum, N., in quorum honorem hæc oblatio hodie offertur, ut [4]cunctis proficiat ad salutem. Per Dominum nostrum, [5]Jesum Christum, cui [6]omnes angeli et archangeli, [7]prophetæ et apostoli, [8]martyres et confessores, virgines et omnes sancti, [9]hymno perpetuo et [10]indefessis

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 38a.—[2]emitatione. [3]*i* accented. [4]accent on *o*. [5]marteria.

Fol. 38b.—[1]*i* accented. [2]martires. [3]difunctis, with accent on final *i*. [4]*e* accented. [5]*-is* for *-es*. [6]æqum.

Fol. 39a.—[1]gratias. [2]habundantius. [3]*e* for *æ*. [4]*i* accented. [5]Ihesum. [6]omnis. [7]profete. [8]martires. [9]immo. [10]with final *i* accented.

Fol. 39b.—laudibus, cum quatuor | animalibus, [1]viginti quatuor senioribus, [2]concinnunt dicentes: Sanctus[a].

Vere sanctus, vere benedictus, vere mirabilis in sanctis suis, Deus noster, [3]Jesus Christus: ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudine[m] [4]plebi suæ [Ps. lxvii. 36]. Benedictus Deus, quem benedicimus in apostolis, et in omnibus sanctis [6]suis, qui placuerunt ei ab initio sæ[culi]. Per eumdem Dominum nostrum, [7]Jesum Christum.

Qui pridie.

[b]Sumpsimus, Domine, sanctorum tuorum [8]solemnia celebrantes, cælestia sacramenta; [9]præsta, [9]quæsumus, ut quod temporaliter gerimus æternis gaudiis consequamur. Per.

INCIPIT [10]MISSA PRO [11]PŒNITENTIBUS [12]VIVIS.

Fol. 40a.—

PRO [1]PŒNITENTIBUS VIVIS.

[2]Exaltatio[a] divina, paterna pietas, [3]immensa[b] [4]majestas, te supplices trementes[c] [5]deprecamur[d] pro [5-e]famulis [6]tuis,[e] ut des [6]eis[f] mentem puram, caritatem perfectam; in actibus [7]sinceritatem, in corde puritatem, in opere

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 39b.—[1]venti. [2]concindunt. [3]Ihesus. [4]plebis suæ; i.e., *s* doubled in error. [6]*i* accented. [7]Ihesum. [8]sollemnia. [9]*e* for *æ*. [10]misa. [11]penitentibus. [12]accent on final *i*.

Fol. 40a.—[1]penitentibus. [2]exultatio. [3]inmensa. [4]maestas. [5]*-præ-* for *-pre-*. [6]*i* accented. [7]sinciritatem.

Fol. 39b.—[a]The MS. reads Per, which is clearly an oversight. [b]Leonine.

Fol. 40a.—Some portions of this Mass are given in the Bobio Missal. (First *missa votiva.*) The Mass is partly Gallican and partly Gregorian. Without the aid of the Bobio and Gregorian texts, it would be impossible to amend the corrupt places. In some instances, however, the reading of our MS. is better.

[a]exsultatio, B; but the correction is certain.

[b]inmensa also in B. [c]+ quidem.

[d]precamur, B.

[e-e]servo tuo *ill.*; and singular throughout, B.

[f]+ Domine, B.

virtutem,[g] in moribus disciplinam; et quæ[h] [8]justitiæ tuæ timore integra [9]mente vel devotione pro ipsis, N., tibi offerimus pietatis tuæ obtinentia[i] agnoscant.[k] Per.

Indulge,[l] Domine, [10]pœnitentibus, [6]nobis [6]famulis [6]tuis poscentibus,

Fol. 40 b.—[ut] secura mente tibi, Domine, Deo nostro, victimam | pro [1]ipsis, N.,[2] offerre valeamus, et pie [1]dictis [3]suis veniam[4] obtineant, [et] sanitatis per [5]te, Pater sancte, munere [6]consecuti, ad salutem gratiæ æternæ possint cum tuo adjutorio pervenire. [Per.]

[a]Iteramus, omnipotens Deus, deprecationem nostram [b]ante conspectum [7]majestatis tuæ,[b] quam [8]specialiter pro famulis [3]tuis, N.,[c] in honore sanctorum Mariæ, [9]Petri, Pauli, [10]Joannis et omnium sanctorum tuorum,[c] oblationem pro [3]peccatis[d] eorum offerimus: [e]vota perficias, petitiones eorum [11]ascendant ad aures clementiæ tuæ, [12]descendat[f] super eos |

Fol. 41 a.—pia benedictio,[a] ut sub umbra alarum tuarum[b] in omnibus [b]protegantur; et [1]orationes nostræ, [2]te propitiante,[b] pro [3]ipsis[b] non refutentur [b]a conspectu pietatis tuæ,[b] sed [b]in[b] omnibus [eis][c] [4]auxiliari[d] atque defendere digneris. Per.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 40a.—[8]iustiæ; i. e., second *ti* omitted by mistake. [9]mentes. [10]penetentibus.

Fol. 40 b.—[1]accent on final *i*. [2]offerri. [3]accent on *i*. [4]obteniant. [5]*e* accented. [6]consequti. [7]maiestis; i. e., *at* omitted. [8]spicialiter. [9]petiri. [10]iohannis. [11]ascendat. [12]discendat.

Fol. 41 a.—[1]*-is* for *-es*. [2]*e* accented [3]accent on final *i*. [4]auxiliare.

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[g]+ in necessitatibus fortitudinem, B. [h]quod, B. [i]obtinenda, B; the true reading is in the Text. [k]cognoscat, B. [l]This Collect is not given in B. I take *nobis* to refer to *famulis tuis:* We, thy servants, asking that we, etc., and they, etc. This agrees with the different persons of *valeamus* and *obtineant, possint.*

Fol. 40 b.—[a]Given in B. with Roman title (*Secreta*). The Secret is Gregorian. [b–b]omitted in G. [c–c]omitted in B; in honore sancti tui, *ill.*, facimus, offerentes tibi hostiam placationis et laudis, G. [d]+ vel pro auxilio ejus, B. [e]Tu, clementissime Pater, vota, etc., G. [f]et before descendat, B. G.

Fol. 41 a.—[a]+ tua, B. G.

[b–b]omitted, G.

[c]*ei* is given in B.

[d]auxiliari, B.; auxiliare atque defende, G.

[a]Vere dignum. Per Dominum nostrum, [5]Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, cujus potentia deprecanda est, [6]misericordia adoranda, [7]pietas [8]amplectenda.[f] Quis enim [9]disputare[f] poterit[g] [10]omnipotentiæ[f] tuæ miracula?[2] Nec[h] [11]auris[i] hominis audire, nec in [12]cor hominis ascendere,[k]

Fol. 41 b.—nec [13]æstimatio[l] hominum poterit invenire[m] | quanta[a] præparas sanctis[b] electis tuis [1 Cor. ii. 9]. Sed[c] in quantum possimus,[d] [1]miseri, [e2]territi quidem de conscientia,[2] sed [fidi][e] de tua [1]misericordia, [f]veniam [1]miserationis et refugium postulantes, atque in commemoratione sanctorum,[g] per quorum suffragia sperantes veniam,[f] [precamur] ut famulis tuis,[h] N., [3]remissionem tribuas peccatorum, [i]opera eorum[i] perficias, vota condones: [k]dona [4]eisdemque[k] [5]servis [5]tuis,[l] intercedentibus sanctis, remedium animarum suarum quod postulamus, ut vota desideriorum eorum[m] [6]perficias. [7]Præsta, omnipotens [Deus],[n] [8]supplicantibus [8]nobis, indul-

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 41 a.—[5]Ihesum. [6]misseriocdia. [7]piatas. [8]amplectare. [9]aliis putare, with accent on second *i*. [10]omnis potentiæ. [11]aures. [12]*o* accented. [13]estimatio.

Fol. 41 b.—[1]*s* doubled. [2-2]terrenique de incontinentia, sed. [3]single *s*. [4]eis denique, with accent on *i* of eis. [5]*i* accented. [6]perfeciat. [7]presta. [8]single *p*.

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[a]Given in B., with Gallican Title (*Contestatio*). Gregorian Preface.

This and the following page are the most corrupt in the Stowe Missal. *Adoranda*, it is true, shows how to correct *amplectare;* but who could recognise *disputare* in *aliis putare*, or *territi quidem de conscientia* in *terrenique de incontinentia*? [f]reading of B. G. [g]potest, G; + opus, with miracula omitted, B. G. [h]quotation from St. Paul omitted, G. [i]aures, B. [k]adscendere, B. [l]stimatio, B. [m]+ quanta sit pietas misericordiæ tuæ, B.

Fol. 41 b.—[a]quantum, B. [b]+ et, B. [c]+ et, G. [d]possumus, B. G. [e-e]reading of B. G. [f-f]clementiam tuam suppliciter deprecamur, G. [Precamur] is taken from B. [g]+ tuorum, Petri et Pauli, B. [h]+ intercedente sancto ill. Confessore tuo, G. [i-i]opus bonum and admissa for vota, G.; opus ejus, B. [k-k]dona idemque, B.; concedasque eidem, servo tuo ill, G. Eis denique for eisdemque, and ei denique for eidemque, are mistakes which a scribe would readily commit, especially if unacquainted with Latin. The difference between *m* and *ni* is liable to be overlooked in transcription. [l]+ per cujus commemorationem remedium postulat, ad vota desideriorum tuorum [suorum] perveniat: præsta, omnipotens Deus, supplicanti indulgentiam, postulanti veniam, poscenti vitam sempiternam. Per. G. [m]ejus, B. [n]Deus, B.

Fol. 42a.—gentiam | postulantibus, veniam poscentibus, [a]vota [eorum] [1]pinguesce.[a] Protege [2]eos,[b] nomen Dei Jacob; jube eis[b] auxilium[c] de sancto, et de Sion[d] tuere NN.[d] Memor esto, [3]misericors Deus, [4]sacrificii[e] eorum,[b] et [5]holocaustum eorum[b] ante conspectum[f] sanctorum[f] [6]pingue fiat:[g] tribue [2]eis desideria sancta eorum, et omne consilium eorum [7]confirma [cf. Ps. xix. 1–5] in bonum, ut [8]illætentur coram [9]te corda [et] desiderium eorum. Per Christum.

Deus,[h] qui confitentium tibi corda purificas, et [10]accusantium [9]se conscientias et omnium iniquitates absolvis, [7]da indulgentiam [11]reis et

Fol. 42b.—medicinam tribue vulneratis; | ut, percepta [1]remissione omnium peccatorum, in sacramentis tuis sincera deinceps deditione [2]permaneant, et [3]nullum redemptionis æternæ [4]sustineant [5]detrimentum. Per Dominum nostrum.

[6]*MISSA PRO MORTUIS* [7]*PLURIBUS.*

Præsta, [8]quæsumus, omnipotens et [9]misericors Deus, ut [10]animæ famulorum tuorum, NN., indulgentiam peccatorum et gaudia perpetua lucis inveniant. [Per.]

[11]Da [7]nobis [9]misericordiam tuam, [8]quæsumus, Domine, ut [10]animæ famulorum tuorum, NN., ab omnibus [12]vitiis expiatæ, cum tua protectione

Fol. 43a.—securæ | diem futuræ resurrectionis [1]expectent. Per Christum.

[a]Intende, Domine, munera quæ altaribus [2]tuis pro sanctorum tuorum,

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 42a.—[1]pingesce. [2]eis, with accent on *i*. [3]*s* doubled. [4]sacrificium. [5]holochaustum. [6]apinge. [7]accent on *a*. [8]inletentur. [9]*e* accented. [10]accusantes. [11]accent on *i*.

Fol. 42b.—[1]remisionem. [2]permanent. [3]nullam. [4]susteniant. [5]tetrimentum. [6]misa. [7]*i* accented. [8]quesumus. [9]*s* doubled. [10]animas. [11]accent on *a*. [12]final *i* accented.

Fol. 43a.—[1]expectant. [2]*i* accented.

Fol. 42a.—[a–a]Omitted. The two datives are in the singular in B. [b]singular, B. [c]+salutis, B. [d–d]tu erige eum, B. [e]sacrificium, B. [f–f]omnium sanctorum tuorum, B.

[g]The Missa in B. ends here.

[h]Gelasian.

Fol. 42b.—The Collects Præsta and Da nobis of this Mass are manifestly Roman in structure. I have not met with them elsewhere.

Fol. 43a.—[a]Leonine.

NN., commemoratione deferimus, et pro nostris [3]offensionibus [4]immolamus. [Per.]

Vere dignum. Cujus [5]promissiones plenas æternorum bonorum in ipso expectamus manifestandas, in quo scimus eas absconditas, Domino nostro, [6]Jesu Christo, qui vera est vita credentium, resurrectio famulorum tuorum, NN., illorum pro quibus hoc sacrificium offerimus, [7]obsecrantes ut regenera-

Fol. 43b. — tionis [8]fonte purgatos, | et a temptationibus exceptos, beatorum numero digneris inserere, et quos adoptionis participes [fecisti], jubeas hereditatis tuæ esse consortes. Per.

[a]Oremus, fratres [1]charissimi, pro [1,2]charis [2]nostris, NN., qui jam in [3]dominica pace præcesserunt; quos finis debitus et ordo transmigrationis conclusit, ut Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri, [4]Jesu Christi, jubeat carnem animamque et spiritum eorum suscipi in locum lucis, in partem [5]refrigerii,[b] in sinibus [6]Abrahæ et [7]Isaac et [8]Jacob:[b] dimittat quoque |

Fol. 44a.—quicquid incongrue, per ignorantiam atque subripiente inimico peccaverunt, et spiritu oris sui eos refrigerare dignetur. Per.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 43a—[3]offentionibus. [4]imbulamus. [5]promisionis. [6]Ihesu. [7]first *e* with cedilla. [8]fontæ.

Fol. 43b.—[1]*c* for *ch*. [2]*i* accented. [3]dominice. [4]Ihesu. [5]refregeri, with accent on final *e*. [6]abrache. [7]isac, with accent on *a*. [8]*a* accented.

Fol. 43b.—[a]Gallican. [b-b]Cf. Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, in a *Collectio* of the Reichenau *Missa iv.*, and Mone's Note: Dieselbe Erwähnung der Patriarchen steht in den Constitut. apostol. 7, 26, 33; 8, 40. Diese Gebete schienen ursprünglich von Judenchristen herzurühren. Bei Mabillon werden die Patriarchen in dieser Verbindung nicht genannt, auch nicht mehr in den Gebeten des römischen Messbuchs, sondern nur in einigen wenigen Bibelstellen der Lectionen und Offertorien. Im altrömischen Messbuch (Leonis I. opp. ed. Ballerini, 2, 24) steht noch diese Beziehung: patribus *nostris* Abraham, Isaac et Jacob. Die missa S. Jacobi, p. 257, hat auch noch: *ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμων.* Die griechische Liturgie hat diese Beziehung in dem Gedächtniss für die Verstorbenen beibehalten. Germani rer. eccles. contempl. p. 403. Goar. p. 602, wo jedoch der Nachsatz: "unserer Väter" weggelassen ist, wie in dieser Messe. Dagegen steht er in der Liturgia s. Basilii Alexandrina bei Renaudot 1, 71. Clemens Alex., Strom. 2, 6, gibt dieser Beziehung eine geistige Bedeutung: *σπέρμα δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἡμεῖς, δι ἀκοῆς καὶ ἡμῖν πιστευτέον. Ἰσραηλῖται γάρ ἡμεῖς, οἱ μή δια σημείων, δι ἀκοῆς δὲ εὐπειθεῖς.* *Messen*, p. 23–4.

ST. GALL FRAGMENT.

Fol. 1a, Plate XXIII.[a] Peccavimus, Domine, peccavimus, [1]parce,

Fol. 1b. Plate XXIV. parce peccatis[1] nostris, et salva nos. Qui gubernasti [2]Noe super undas [3]diluvii, exaudi nos; et Jonam de [4]abysso verbo revocasti, libera nos. Qui Petro mergenti manum [5]porrexisti, auxiliare, [6]Christe, [7]Fili Dei.

Fecisti mirabilia, Domine, cum patribus nostris, et [1]nostris propitiare temporibus. Emitte manum tuam de alto, libera nos. [Ps. cxliii. 7.]

[6]Christe, audi nos; [6]Christe, audi nos; [6]Christe, audi nos.

[*Col.* 1].			[*Col.* 2].		
Sancta Maria,	ora pro	[nobis].	Sce.	[14]Simon,	ora [pro nobis].
Sancte Petre,	,,	,,	,,	Jacobe,	ora [,,].
,, Paule,	,,	,,	,,	[15]Thaddæe,	o[ra ,,].
,, [8]Andrea,	,,	,,	,,	[16]Matthia,	[,, ,,].
,, Jacobe,	,,	,,	,,	Marce,	[,, ,,].
,, [9]Joannes,	,,	,,	,,	[17]Luca,	[,, ,,].
,, [10]Philippe,	,,	,,	,,	[18]Stephane,	[,, ,,].
,, [11]Bartholomæe,	,,	,,			
,, [12]Thoma,	,,	,,			
,, [13]Matthæe,	,,	,,			

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 1a.—[1] parcun. Fol. 1b.—[1] accent on *i*. [2] *o* accented. [3] dilui; *u* = *u* and *v*. [4] abiso. [5] porrexti, with *is* over the *t*. [6] xpe = χρε; i.e., Χριστέ. [7] Filii, with accent on *i* of penult. [8] Andria. [9] Iohannis. [10] Pilippe. [11] Bartholomei. [12] Thomas. [13] Mathai, with accent on second *a*. [14] *o* accented. [15] Thathe. [16] Madiane. [17] Lucas. [18] Stefane.

Fol. 1a.—[a] The facsimiles from which the Text of this Fragment is taken were sent, amongst others, from St. Gall to the English Record Commission in 1837, by the Librarian, Dean, afterwards Bishop, Greith. Accompanying them was a partial transcription, including Plates XXIX. and XXX. This copy is not quite so full or quite so accurate as was to be expected.

At that time, Dr. Greith described the Script as Anglo-Saxon. Subsequently, Dr. Keller examined the folios, and gave caligraphic illustrations in the Essay already mentioned. One result of his labours was, that when next Dr. Greith had occasion to treat of the Fragment, in his *History of the Ancient Irish Church*, Freiburg, 1869, he ascribed the writing to the real source.

Fol. 1b.—[a] Three lines are vacant here. Whether the space was always in its present

Fol. 2a, Plate XXIX. P[œnitentia?[a] mun] demus conscientias nost[r]as ab omni labe vitiorum, ut nihil sit in [[b]nobis subdolum vel[b]] superbum, sed in humilitatis studium et c[a]ritatis pen[sum . . . [c]et] sanguinem dominici corporis fraternitas vincta copuletur [. . . mereamur] dicere.

Divino magisterio edocti et divina institu[ti]one formati,[d] [1]audemus dicere: Pater nost[er].

Lib[era] nos, Domine, ab omni malo, praeterito, præ[senti] et futuro, et, intercedentibus pro nobis be[atis a]postolis tuis, Petro et Paulo, et Patricio [[2]episcopo], da propitius pacem tuam in diebus nostris, [ut op]e [3]misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccatis s[empe]r simus liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per Dominum.[e]

[Sacerdos], tenens sancta in manibus, signat calicem cruce; et hic Pax datur; et dicit sacerdos:

P[a]x et caritas Domini et [4]communicatio sanctorum omni[u]m sit semper vobiscum.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 2a, Plate XXIX.—[1] audiemus. [2] *æ* for *e*, according to Greith. [3] *s* doubled. [4] commonicatio.

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condition, or was erased, it is impossible, in the absence of the original, to decide.

Fol. 2a.—[a] Dr. Greith reads *Pectoris hos mundemus*. Neither here nor elsewhere does he note the lacunae, the extent of which can be seen by the textual portions placed within brackets. We have thus no means of ascertaining whether his readings in these places are mere guesses, or are to be found in the MS. In the present instance, if the lost letters formed the opening of the sentence, *Pectoris hos* is a singularly infelicitous restoration.

Nearly all the abrasions are on a line near the margin, where the parchment was doubled in forming the book-cover. As folio 2a was external, the amount worn away upon it is greater than upon folio 2b.

[b-b] Dr. Greith's lection.

[c] There is room here for ten letters.

[d] Dr. Greith gives: *institutione . . . formati* —a clear proof of carelessness. In the MS. *Divino—noster* is arranged in two lines on the right-hand moiety of the page; *institu[ti]* and *nost[er]* being the respective finals. There is, accordingly, no omission between *institutione* and *formati*.

[e] *Securi p dnm* is written under *-batione* at the end of the line. On the vacant interlinear space (to the left) stands the Rubric; *dt sa*, the contractions of *dicit sacerdos*, being put, for want of room, under the first syllable of *securi*.

Populus [5]respondet: Et cu[m spiritu] tuo.

Et mittit sacerdos sancta in calicem; et dat sibi populus p[a]cem; [et commu]nicant; et juxta [6]communionem canitur:

Pacem meam do vobis, [alleluia; pa]cem relinquo vobis, alleluia. [Joan. xiv. 27.]

Dominus [7]regit me. [Ps. xxii. 1.]

Qui manducat corp[us meum, et bi]bit meum sanguinem, alleluia, ipse in me manet, [et][f] ego in illo, alleluia. [Joan. vi. 57.]

[Domini est terra. Ps. xxiii. 1.][g]

[Hic est] panis vivus qui de caelo [8]descendit, alleluia; qui manducat [ex eo, vivet in æt]ernum, alleluia. [Joan. vi. 59.]

Ad te, Domine, levavi. [Ps. xxiv. 1.]

Venite, comedite panem me[um, et bibite vin]um [9]quod misc[ui] vobis. [Prov. ix. 5.]

Judica me, Domine, quoniam ego. [Ps. vii. 9.]

Comedite, amici. [Cant. v. 1.]

Fol. 2b, Pl. XXX. [a]Sinite parv[a][ulos venire ad me, alleluia,] et nolite eos prohibere, alleluia; talium enim est regnum caelorum, [alleluia]. [Mat. xix. 14.]

[Regnum caelorum vim patitur],[b] alleluia; et violenti rapiunt illud, alleluia. [Mat. xi. 12.]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 2a, Plate XXIX.—[5] respondit. [6] commonionem. [7] reget. [8] discendit. [9] quem.

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[f] The final syllable of *manet* caused the scribe to overlook the conjunction. Such mistakes are of rather frequent occurrence, arising from homœoteleuton.

[g] Before *panis* there is a hiatus of seventeen letters. Respecting *Hic est* there can be no doubt. We have almost equal certainty with regard to the Psalm. First, with *Domini* contracted, as usual, into *Dni*, the words just occupy the space; and, secondly, they are placed in the same position in the Stowe Missal.

Fol. 2b.—[a-a] Written in a smaller hand over *et nolite*, at the beginning of the line. The transcriber evidently overlooked this clause, and inserted it subsequently.

[b] After *regnum caelorum*, of Matt. xix., about nine letters were erased at the end of the line. These were *vi patitur*. The following line

[1]Pœnitentiam agite, alleluia; [2]approp[inq]uavit enim regnum caelorum, alleluia. [Mat. iii. 2.]

Hoc sacrum Corpus Domini,
Et salvator[is] sanguinem, alleluia,
Sumite vobis
In vitam perennem, alleluia.

In [3]labiis [4]meis meditabor [hymnum], alleluia; cum docueris me, ego justitias respondebo, alleluia. [Cf. Ps. cxviii. 171.]

Venite, bene[di]cti patris mei, [5]possidete regnum, alleluia, quod vobis paratum est ab origine [m]undi, alleluia. [Mat. xxv. 34.]

Ubi ego fuero, illic erit et minister m[eus], alleluia. [Joan. xii. 26.]

In Natale Domini.

Nos oportet celebrare, alleluia,
Magni regis in natale, alleluia,
Christum mundi salv[ator]em, alleluia,
Sacrosancto Sanguine, alleluia.

In [6]Epiphania.

[7]Baptiz[ato Domino], ap[er]ti sunt caeli, alleluia, et vidit spiritum descendentem super se, alleluia. [Cf. Mat. iii. 16.]

In die [8]P[a]schæ.

Saeculi salvator, Dominus, hodie resurrexit; et in dextera Dei Pat[ris] virtute consedit, alleluia.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 2b, Plate XXX.—[1] penitentiam. [2] adprop[inq]uavit. [3] labis, with accent on *i*. [4] *i* accented. [5] possedite. [6] *ae* for *e*. [7] bab— for bap—. [8] *e* for *a*.

---

begins with *alleluia*. The explanation is, the scribe, for the reason already given, Note *f*, *supra*, forgot to copy *regnum cælorum* a second time.

In [9]*Pente*[*coste*].

Effundam de Spiritu meo, alleluia, super omnem [car]nem, alleluia; et [10]quidem in servos meos, et in [11]ancillas [m]eas, alleluia. [Joel. ii. 28, 29; Act. ii. 17, 18.]

Post [*Communio*].

Quos caelesti, Domine, dono satiasti, præsta ut a nostris mundemur occultis, et ab hostium lib[e]remur [12]insidiis. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum, [etc.].

Gratias tibi agimus, Domine Sancte, Pater omnipo[t]ens, aeterne Deus, qui nos Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, Filii tui, [13]commu[nio]ne satiasti; tuamque misericordiam humiliter [14]postulamus, ut [15]hoc tuum, Domine, sacramentum non sit nob[is] reatus ad pœnam, sed intercessio salutaris ad [ven]iam; sit [The concluding portion will be found on folios 35b, 36a, of Stowe Missal. Supra, p. 224.]

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 2b, Plate XXX.—[9] penti—. [10] *a* for *e*. [11] *e* for *i*. [12] insidis. [13] commo—. [14] postulamur. [15] *o* accented.

ANTIPHONARY OF BANGOR [A.D. 680–691], *Ambrosian Library, Milan,* C. 10, Folio 11 b2.

Ymnus quando commonicarent Sacerdotes.

I.	II.
Sancti venite,	Salvati Christi
Christi Co*r*pus sumite;[a]	Corpor*e* et Sanguine,
Sanctu*m* bibentes,	A qu*o* refecti,
Quo r*e*dempti sanguin*e*.	Laudes d*i*camus De*o*.

---

[a] Cf. Preface to the *Audite omnes*:—

Ocus cen batar [Patraic ocus Sechnall] tiachtain timchell na relgi, rochualatar clais aingel

And whilst they [Patrick and Sechnall] were going the circuit of the cemetery, they heard a

III.

Folio 12a 1.

Hoc sacramento
Corporis et Sanguinis
Omnes exuti
Ab inferni faucibus.

IV.

Dator salutis,
Christus, Filius Dei,
Mundum salvavit
Per crucem et Sanguinem.

V.

Pro universis
Immolatus Dominus,
Ipse sacerdos
Existit et hostia.

VI.

Lege praeceptum
Immolari hostias,
Qua adumbrantur
Divina misteria.

VII.

Lucis indultor
Et salvator omnium
Praeclarum sanctis
Largitus est gratiam.

VIII.

Accedunt [*sic:* lege accedant] omnes
Pura mente creduli,
Sumant aeternam
Salutis custodiam.

IX.

Folio 12a 2.

Sanctorum custos,
Rector quoque Dominus,
Vitae perennis
Largitur credentibus.

X.

Caelestem panem
Dat esurientibus;
De fonte vivo
Praebet sitientibus.

XI.

Alfa et ω[mega],
Ipse Christus Dominus,
Venit, venturus
Iudicare homines.

---

oc cantain immon idpert isin eclais; ocus issed rochansat—in n-immon dianad tossach:—

Sancti venite,
Christi Corpus,—et reliqua.

Conid osein ille chantar i n-Erinn in imunsa, intan tiagar do Churp Crist. L. B., 238*a*, b.

choir of angels a-chanting around the Oblation in the church; and it is this they chanted—the Hymn of which the beginning is:—

Sancti venite, etc.

So that from then hither this Hymn is chanted in Erin, what time the Body of Christ is being gone to.

NOTE TO ANTIPHONARY.

The Text is written in double columns. The letters in italics are the finals of the respective lines in the MS. arrangement. The quatrains are not numbered in the original.

It may be of service to give the references to the more interesting contents of the volume.

Folio 13b 2.—Ymnum (sic) Sancti Patrici, magistri Scotorum. It is the well-known Hymn of St. Secundinus: Audite, omnes amantes. On the margin of folio 15 b 1, where the piece ends, the old hand wrote:—

Patrici laudes semper dicamus,
Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus.

Folio 15 b 1.—Underneath this stands (on the same left margin): Ymnum (sic) sci Comgilli, which, with the couplet, the scribe apparently forgot to insert in the column.

The Hymn of St. Comgall, beginning with Recordemur iustitiae, goes on to 16 b 1, middle of the column; and is followed by the Ymnum (sic) sci Camelaci, the opening line of which is:—

Folio 16b 1.—Audite bonum exemplum.

It consists of twenty-four lines, ending at line 14 of the second column, 16 b 2.

Folio 30a 1.—Versiculi familiae Benchuir. Ten quatrains, concluded on folio 30 b 1. The last quatrain Muratori reads Cui vita beata—Cum perfectis futura—Deo Patre parata—Sine fide mansura. The MS. reading is: Civitas beata—Cum perfectis corde futura—Deo Patre parata—Sine fine mansura. *Corde* is expressed by a drawing of a heart—the only instance of picture-writing that I have found in Irish MSS.

Folio 36 b 1.—The final folio is 36, the second page of which contains an alphabetical

Memoriam (sic) abbatum nostrorum.

I shall set down the MS. readings of the lines of which Muratori and Peyron give erroneous lections (M., *Anecdota*, etc., Paduæ, 1714, tom. IV., p. 123. P., *Ciceronis Orat. frag. ined.*, Stuttg. 1824, p. 226.):—

Numerum, tempra, nomina. M., tempora.
Audite magna merita. M., P., mereta.
Amavit Christus Congillum. M., P., Comgillum.
Elegit Sanctum Sinlanum. M., Simlanum.
Gratum fecit Fintendnum. M., Fintenanum; P., Fintenapum.

To the eye, Fintendnum is trisyllabic. But the Irishmen who used the Hymn pronounced it Fintendinum; *dn* not coalescing without the aid of an *irrational* vowel.

Inlustravit Maclaisreum. M., illustravit Machlaisreum.
Kapud abbatum omnium. The same hand placed *t* over the *d* of Kapud.
Lampade sacrae (sic) Seganum. M., Sacra Seganum; P., sacra Eseganum.

Folio 36 b 2.—Noster erat Boetaenus. M., P., Notus vir erat Beracnus.

I noted this line in particular, and verified the reading subsequently.

Ornatus et Cumineus. M., Cumnenus.
Rector bonus Baithenus. M., Bautherius.
Summus antistes Critanus. M., P., antestes; M., Cronanus; P., Crotanus.
Vir amabilis omnibus. M., admirabilis.

Twice I went through all the pages, column by column, carefully, in the hope of finding entries that would throw some light upon the vicissitudes of this venerable monument; to my disappointment, however, no discovery rewarded the search.

GRAPHIC FORMS IN B, C, D, ARISING FROM IRISH PHONETIC.

(a) Vocalic.

a *for* **e**, alaxandro, catacominis, pentacosten, piatas, saraphin; **o**, barthalomae; **omitted**, anchoritarum, isac; **prefixed**, anathletico, ancleti, apingue.

au *for* **a**, autque, nauum.

ae, **æ**, **e**, **oe**, are used indiscriminately to represent the long **e**-sound.

e *for* **i**, ancellas, confeteor, corinteos, cremine, -um, desedirium, emitatione, essaiae, feceretis, genetricis, helessiae, iteneris, letania, misserecordiae, obteniant, penetentibus, perfeciat, possedete, prevelegia, redetu, refregeri, susteniant, venti (viginti); **u**, trement; **y** (=**i**-sound), marteria, -um, praespeteris; **omitted**, ablis, dextram, hironime; **prefixed**, emundemur.

i *for* **e**, **æ**, accidentem, agiae, anchoritarum, anrias, -ae, andriæ, -a, arcisire, aspicire, audio, -imus, catacominis, cicilia, ciruphin, cornili, derilinquisti, desedirium, dicire, difunctis, dilicta, discendi, -it, -at, elivatur, evangilii, ficisti, gilasi, grigorii, inbiciles, intigra, intigritate, lintiamen, maistas, meriar, -iamur, michiae, obteniant, patiretur, penticoste, perigrinantibus, promiriri, redimisti, sanguinim, sinciritatem, spicialiter, spiciosus, susteniant, urire; **u**, incolimitatis, -e, obtilit, quessimus; **y** (= **i**-sound), abiso, cipriani, crisogini, hironime, immo, imnus, martires, -um, -ibus, misterium, -ia, sciti, xisti; **singled**, alis, ambrosi, antoni, auxili, cornili, dilui (diluvii), eogeni, fili, gaudi, gilasi, grigori, insidis, labis, laurenti, patrici, pissimis, refregeri, sacrificis, varis, vitis; **doubled**, audii, filii, grigorii, patricii; **omitted**, brigta, ezechelis, maestas, -atis, -atem, maistatis, mosi; **inserted**, agiens, audiemus, diciens, petiri.

o *for* **a**, domiani, periculo (ac. pl.); **u**, catacominis, commonio, -onem, –one, –cantes, –catio, eogeni, inmotabilis, tonica.

u *for* **a**, ambucuc; **o**, diabuli, idulorum, imbulamus, immulata, munachorum, pulluto; **inserted**, virguinum; **omitted**, aequm, apinge, pingesce.

(b) Consonantal.

b *for* **m**, imbulamus; **p**, babtismum, **v**, sperabimus (perf.).

c *for* **k**, cyrie; **qu**, corum, cotidianis, trancillitate; **t**, condicionis; **singled**, aceptos, pecatorum; **doubled**, feccis; **inserted**, abrache.

d *for* **n**, concindunt; **t**, adque; **non-assimilated**, adflictorum, -guntur, adnuntiabitis, adprobamus, adpropinquavit, adsisto, adsume, -ptione; **omitted**, anrias, -ae.

f *for* **p**, adefti; **ph**, orfanis, profeta, -ae, -arum, -as, stefane, -o; **singled**, sufragia.

g *for* **c**, calige, crugifixus; **singled**, agiae; **omitted**, venti (viginti).

h omitted, catacominis, ciruphin, corinteos, crisogini, enoc, immo, imnus, ortodoxis, ossanna, ostium (gen. pl.), pasca, -ae, pilippi, sciti, tathei, teoricum, tomae, tronum, ymnum; **prefixed**, habundantius, hautem, helessiae, heremi, heremiae, hestre; **inserted**, ihesu, iohannis, -em, iohel, misahelis, holochaustum, tathei, thathei.

l singled, inbiciles; **doubled**, sollemnia, -tas, -tatibus.

m *for* **b**, animamus, neximus; **inserted**, ambucuc.

n *for* **m**, ciruphin, saraphin; **inserted**, dirilinquisti, quinquagensimae, quotienscunque; **assimilated**, immo; **non-assimilated**, conlatis, inbiciles, inletentur, inlibata, inluminasti, inlustratas, inmaculatam, inmensa, inmortalis, inmotabilis, inmunde, inpetrare, inrogas.

p *for* **b**, opsecremus, praespeter, -is; **singled**, pilipi, suplices, -cantibus.

q *for* **c**, consequti, loqutus.

r assimilated, sussum.

s *for* **z**, sachariæ; **singled**, abiso, altisimus, -e, arcisire, beatisimorum, clementisime, misa, -ae, promisionis, remisionem, -e, sacratisimam; **doubled**, aeclessia, anastassia, effussione, essaiae, essu, helessiae, invissibilia, misserationis, -um, -ere, -eri, -icors, -icordia, -ae, -am, ossanna, osse, quessimus, ressurrectionis, -em, vissivilium.

t *for* **d**, hestre, retdat, tathei, thathei, tetrimentum; **s**, defentionem, offentionibus; **singled**, emite, mathei, mathia; **inserted**, resurrextionem.

v *for* **b**, coenovi[al]ium, vissivilium, **omitted**, dilui (diluvii).

z *for* **s**, elezion, zabaoth, zeth.

GRAPHIC FORMS IN BOBIO MISSAL AND PENITENTIAL.

(a) Vocalic.

a *for* **au**, aguria; **e**, adsparsione, asparsa, -æ, -serit, nicodamus; **o**, parapside.

au *for* **a**, fraumentorum, -is (fragmentis); *i.e.*, compensatory lengthening for omission of the consonant.

Aphæresis *of* e-sound, stimator, stote.

e *for* **i**, abstenere, -uit, antestite, bethanea, defusa, esaias, -æ, -a, genetrix, -icis, homenibus, inexplecabile, intellegat, itenere, -a, lenteo, letaniis, obtenere, redemere, sustenere, teloneo, tripertita; **prefixed**, expectacolum.

i *for* **a**, lima, arising from progressive assimilation, the preceding word being Heli, Matt. xxvii. 46; **e**, accidite, arimatia, calcidonius, cliti, cornili, fugire, herimo, malibolis, medillam, pinnis, quadraginsima, -æ, quatinus, quinquaginsimæ, saltim, scariothis, stillae, -as; **o**, sycimorum; **u**, obstipuerunt; **doubled**, hii; **aphæresis**, scariothis; **omitted**, abicientes, obiciat; **inserted**, hiezechiel, unianime, -es, -iter.

o *for* **u**, ambolamus, -are, -avit, ampotes, anolum, cervolo, cobitorum, coenacolum, crapola, discipolorum, -is, eogenia, expectacolum, exsol, famola, -æ, -am, -i, -um, -o, orum, -is, -os, -antur, -ari, -ato, fulgora, incolomis, -em, -es, -itati, infolis, inmacolata, joconditas, macolas, -is, muscipola, oracola, oscolatus, patibolum, pericolum, -a, popillis, -os, postolamus, receptacolo, stipola, tutoaverit (titubaverit), veicolum, vicola, vincolis; **omitted**, vincla.

u *for* **au**, uricalco; **i**, tutoaverit; **y** (= **i**-sound), murræ; **o**, adulescens, hierusolyma, -is, laudiciæ, precunabile, victuria; **omitted**, linqat; **inserted**, intinguit.

(b) Consonantal.

b *for* **p**, babtizabit (perf.); **v**, babtizabit, congregabit, labo, malibolis, peccabit, praeparabit; **non-assimilated**, submiserunt, -ponens; **singled**, barrabas; **doubled**, debbora.

c *for* **qu**, cottidiana, -as, -is, -die, secuntur; **t**, abrenuncias, -are, -abitis, -atio, -et, inmundiciam, nuncius, -antur, preciosi, -os, propicius, -atio, -atus; **omitted**, arta; **doubled**, zaccharias.

d *for* **t**, adque; **non-assimilated**, adcurrens, adfert, adfigitur, -xit, -erunt, adfligimur, adflictionis, -em, -um, -ctum, adgregare, -andum, adnumerandum, adnunciabitis, -aret, -tiari, -ante, -atio, -et, adportaverint, adposuerunt, adprehendit, adprobavit, adpropinquans, -avit, -asset, adproximant, adquirat, -ens, -ere, adscendere, adsequi, adsidui, adsigna, -emus, adsiste, -tentes, adsparsione, adsumat, -e, -entes, -ere, -psit, -tione, -tus, -mtione, adtende, -ite, adtenuatis, adtestantibus, adtribue.

f *for* **ph**, alfa, alfei, effeta, ephyfania, -æ, fantasias, fantasma, fanuhelis, fi[l]adelfiæ, serafin, stefano, theofile; **singled**, defusa.

g omitted, fraumentorum, -is.

h omitted, aram, arimatia, blaspemas, calcidonius, chrysolitus, clamydem, cyrographum, dracma, di-, elizabet, golgotta, gomorreorum, helizabet, hierico, iosep, osanna, sabactani, schyta, tiathiriæ, uricalco, veicolum; **prefixed**, harundine, -em, have, helia, -as, -æ, -am, helizabet, heremus, -um, herimo, hiaspidis, hieremiæ, hierico, hierusalem, hiris; **inserted**, danihel, emanuhel, ephyfania, -æ, ezechihel, fanuhelis, iohanna, -es, -is, -i, -em, -e, israhelitæ, michahel, -is, pathmos, samuhel, scariothis, schyta, thobiæ, tiathiriæ.

l singled, ilico; **doubled**, medellam, -illam, querella, sollemnitas, -ter, tutellam.

m *for* **n**, dotahim, septemtrionem, volumtatis.

n *for* **m**, cherubin, serafin; **inserted**, quadraginsimæ, -o, -ale, -alis, quinquaginsima, -æ, -o; **non-assimilated**, conburuntur, conlaudare, -ant, -et, -emus, -antes, conlocet, -asti, -ati, conmisit, conpagine, conposita, conprobaretur, conrobora, -as, -es, conrui, inbuatur, inconprehensa, inlabere, inlata, -is, -um, inlecebras, -osum, inlibate, -um, inlicita, inludebant, inlumina, -abitur, -are, -as, -ata, -atio, -emur, -entur, -es, -et, inluserunt, inlustras, -ent, inluxisti, -it, inmacolata, inmensa, -æ, inminere, inmissor, inmunde, -diciam, -dissime, -dus, -os, inmortalem, inpedimur, inpertias, inpendis, inpleatur, inploramus, inportune, -itatem, inradiata, inreprehensibilis, inretitus, inridebant, inrogas, inruit, reconpensa.

p *for* **b**, optulerunt; **singled**, oportuna, -e, -i; **omitted**, adsumtione, redemtio, -tor.

r doubled, barrabas, sarræ, -am.

s *for* **z**, topasius; **omitted**, expernere; **inserted**, exsol; **doubled**, chrysoprassus.

t doubled, betthelem, cottidiana, -as, -is, -die, golgotta.

v *for* **b**, acervis, baptizavit, congregavit, præparavit, reprovo, sivilantes.

z *for* **s**, zmaragdus, zmirnam.

A.

STOWE MISSAL, Fol. 63b.

[*Figures prefixed to paragraphs refer to corresponding numerals in* **B**.]

2. [a]Ind altoir, fiugor ind ingrimme immabred.

3. In cailech, is figor inna eclaise foruirmed ocus rofothaiged for ingrimmim ocus for martri inna fathe et aliorum.[a]

4. [1]Huisce [a]prius in calicem, ocus issed canar occo:[b] Peto te, Pater; deprecor [2]te, [3]Fili; obsecro te, Spiritus [4]Sancte; idon, figor in phopuil toresset[c] in [5]ecclesia.

2. The altar, a figure of the persecution that was inflicted.

3. The chalice, it is a figure of the Church which was set and founded upon the persecution and upon the martyrdom of the prophets and others.

4. Water first into the chalice, and what is chanted by them is: Peto te, Pater; deprecor te, Fili; obsecro te, Spiritus Sancte; that is, a figure of the people that was poured into the Church.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 63b.—[1]Huisque; i.e., Latin *qu* = Irish *c*. [2]Accented. [3]filii. [4]scæ. [5]æcla.

Fol. 63b.—2. [a]The Title, Introduction, and initial Section, we see from the B.-Text, have been omitted.

3. [a]Et aliorum = Irish, ocus alaile. The presence of the Latin words and phrases is suggestive of the Tract being a Translation.

4. [a]Prius in calicem = Ir., arthuus hi cælech. Vinum aqua mixtum offerendum est in sacraficium. Pœnitentiale Vindobonense, c. lxix.

[b]From the fact that this and other portions were chanted by more than one, we learn that the service was choral.

[c]Compare for toresset the gloss on Ephes. i. 7, In quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem ejus, in the Würzburg St. Paul, 20d: tresin fuil storidi doreiset [*lege:* doresset] ass a thoib, intain romboi fri croich, ocus tresin fuil spirtaldi adoparar cach dia forsind altoir: through the actual blood which was poured from his side the time he was on the cross, and through the spiritual blood which is offered each day on the altar. Zimmer, Gloss. Hib. p. 128.

5. Oblæ[a] iarum [b]super altare, id est, intrat.[b] Issed canar occo, idon, [c]Jesus Christus, A et Ω:[c] hoc est, principium et finis. [Cf. Apoc. xxi. 6.] Figor cuirp Crist, rosuidiged hi linannart[d] brond Maire.

5. The oblation afterwards upon the altar, that is, it enters. What is chanted by them is: Jesus Christus, Alpha and Omega: that is, the beginning and the end. A figure of the Body of Christ, which was placed in the linen cloth of the womb of Mary.

6. Fin[a] iarum ar [1]huisce hi cælech, idon, deacht Crist ar a [7]doenacht, ocus ar in popul, in aimsir thuisten. Issed canar oc suidiu: [8]Remittat

6. Wine afterwards upon water in the chalice, namely, the divinity of Christ upon his humanity, and upon the people, at the time of Incarna-

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 63 b.—[6]ihs xps, the second contraction = χρς (χριστός). [7]donacht. [8]remitet.

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5. [a]Is hi in cetna fodal coisecartha na haltora, idon, ablu ocus usci ocus fin . . . ocus is aire coisecarthar inatri sin itosach, fobith ite adopretar forri do gres ic oiffrind: the first division of the consecration of the altar is this, namely, the host and water and wine . . . and the reason why those three are consecrated in the beginning is, because they are offered upon it always at Mass. Tract on Consecration of Church, Lebar Breac, p. 277 b.

[b–b]Super altare, id est, intrat = Ir., for sind altoir, idon, totet forre.

[c]Compare the final quatrain of the *Sancti venite* in the Bangor Antiphonary; the Inscription: A et Ω: Ihs xrs, on the Glendalough stone, figured in vol. 6, 4th Ser., *Journal of Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, p. 43; and the following from a Sermon for Christmas Day by an unknown Author: Quis, igitur, non adoret primum et novissimum, initium et finem, α et ω? S. Augustini Opera, Ed. Bened., Antwerpiæ 1702; tom. v., Append., col. 162 D.

[d]The altar-cloth is mentioned formally in Theodore's Penitential. Mulieres non velant altare cum corporali, nec oblationem super altare, neque calicem [ponunt]. Theod., Can. Greg., c. 42.

Respecting the material of the Corporal, the Tract and Germanus of Paris are in accord; the latter, however, gives a different symbolical reason. Corporalis, vero, ideo pura linea (est), super quam oblatio ponitur, quia Corpus Domini puris linteaminibus cum aromatibus fuit obvolutum in tumulo. Martene, ubi sup., i. col. 467.

6. [a]The source of the supply is indicated

Pater; [9]indulgeat Filius; [10]misereatur Spiritus Sanctus.

7. A canar dind offriund forsen, iter Introit[a] ocus Orthana ocus Tormach, corrigi Liacht nApstal ocus [11]Salm ndigrad,[b] is figor recto aicnith insin, in roaithnuiged [aithgne][c] Crist tria huili baullo ocus [12]gnimo.

8. Liacht nApstol, immorro, ocus Salm digrad ocus ho shuidiu co Dinochtad, is foraithmet rechta litre,

tion. It is what is chanted hereat: Remittat Pater; indulgeat Filius; misereatur Spiritus Sanctus.

7. What is chanted of the Mass after that—both Introit and Prayers and Augment—up to the Lection of the Apostles and the bigradual Psalm, it is a figure of the law of Nature, wherein was renewed [the knowledge of] Christ through all his members and deeds.

8. The Lection of the Apostles, moreover, and bigradual Psalm and from that to the Uncovering, it is a

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 63b.—[9]indulget. [10]miseretur. The Optative, it may be assumed, is the meaning intended. [11]ψalm; i.e., ψ = ps. [12]First syllable accented.

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incidentally by Cormac: *Escop fina*—isna muirbrethaib: idon, escra tomais fina le cennaigib Gall ocus Frangc: *Scoop of wine*—in the sea-laws: namely a vessel of measurement of wine (employed) by the traders of the Galls and Franks. *Glossary*, L. B., 267a.

7. [a]Introitus ideo vocatur, quia introeunte populo in basilicam decantatur. Aurelianus Remensis, Tractat. de Musica, temp. Caroli Calvi. Martene I., col. 363. Psallentibus clericis, procedit sacerdos . . . de sacrario. Germ. Expos. Id., col. 464. Note the absence of the Gloria, showing a Recension older than Bγ.

[b]Of two grades, that is, Antiphonal; as explained in the following. Inter responsorios autem et antiphonas hoc differt, quod in responsoriis unus versum dicit; in antiphonis autem versibus alternant chori. Lectio dicitur quia non cantatur, ut psalmus vel hymnus, sed legitur tantum. Illic enim modulatio, hic sola pronuntiatio quæritur. Isidorus, De officiis Eccl., cap. 19. Migne, Patrologia, tom. 82, col. 252.

[c]The true reading is preserved, mirabile dictu, in B. The scribe of the A.-Text forgot to insert *aithgne*—an omission due to having written *aithniuged* just before.

in rofiugrad Crist, nadfess cadacht, cid rofiugrad and.

memorial of the law of the Letter, wherein was figured Christ, who was not known as yet, though he was figured therein.

9. In dinochtad corrici leth inna oblæ ocus in cailich ocus a canar occo, iter [13]Soscel ocus [13]Ailloir,[a] corrici *Oblata*, is foraithmet rechta [12]fathe, hi [14]tarc(h)et Crist co follus, acht nathnaicess co rogenir.

9. The Uncovering, as far as half, of the oblation and of the chalice, and what is chanted by them—both Gospel and Benediction, as far as *Oblata*, it is a memorial of the law of the Prophets, wherein Christ was foretold clearly, but was not seen until He was born.

10. [13]Tocbal in cailich iarn a [12]landiurug, quando canitur[a] *Oblata*, is foraithmet gene Crist insin [ocus] [15]a indocbale tre airde[15] [16]ocus firto.

10. The raising of the Chalice after its full uncovering, when *Oblata* is chanted, that is a memorial of the Birth of Christ and of His exaltation through signs and miracles.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 63 b.—[13]Second syllable accented. [14]*h* placed overhead. [15-15]tre airde a indocbale, with corresponding interlinear marks before *tre* and *a*, signifying that the collocation was to be readjusted, as it stands at present in the Text. The Scribe forgot to copy the conjunction after insin. [16]et = ocus.

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9. [a]Ailloir = benediction-prayer. A marginal gloss, Book of Armagh, 77 a 1, on benedixit illis, Luc. ix. 16, is *gabis ailli:* he pronounced a benediction. Sanctificatur enim per verbum Dei, 1 Tim. iv. 5, is explained in the Würzburg MS., 28 c, by *tre ailli gaibther re proinn:* through the benediction that is said before dinner. The reference in the Text is to Ostende, etc. of the Missal, Ba (9).

The absence of the Creed, like that of the Gloria, is of importance for determining the date of the Tract.

10. [a]Quando canitur = Ir., intan canar.

11. Quadno canitur: [17]*Accepit Jesus panem*, tanaurnat in sacart [14]fat(h)ri du aithrigi dia pecthaib; atnopuir Deo; ocus slecthith[a] in popul: ocus ni taet guth isson, ar

Fol. 64a.—na tar | masca in sacardd; ar issed a thechta ar na rascra a menme contra Deum, [1]cene canas

11. When *Accepit Jesus panem* is chanted, the priest bows thrice for sorrow for their sins; he offers them [i.e., the bread and wine] to God; and the people prostrates: and there comes not a sound then, that it disturb not the priest; for it is his duty that his mind separate not from God whilst he chants this Lection.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 63b.—[17]accipit ihs.
Fol. 64a.—[1]First syllable accented.

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11. [a]In the Gallican Church, we learn from St. Gregory of Tours, the congregation stood during the reading of the Lections. Stante autem populo et Lectionum dogmata auscultante. Mirac., ii. 17.

During the other portions of the service, we can infer from the words of St. Cæsarius that they knelt. Quotienscumque juxta altare a clericis oratur, aut oratio diacono clamante indicitur. Rebuking those who stood with heads erect at those times, he contrasts their attitude with what is read of Elias and Elisæus and other Saints: de quibus legitur quod frequenter prostrati in terram . . . oraverint. Amongst the *alii sancti* he had doubtless before his mind St. Martin of Tours, of whom his biographer Sulpicius records: Ac primum, quae erant illi familiaria in istiusmodi rebus arripiens arma solita, prostratus oravit. Book of Armagh, folio 196 b2.

He then gives the example of our Lord's posture during the Prayer in the Garden. Et de ipso Domino nostro in Evangelio scriptum est, quod procidens in terram ita oraverit ut ab eo guttæ sanguinis stillarent . . . Prostratus in terra orat Medicus et non inclinatur ægrotus. . . . Non ergo pigeat, si infirmitas non prohibet, ut se unusquisque in terram prostratus adoret. Serm. 85, Aug. Op., tom. supra cit., Append., col. 337, A. D.

That *slecthith* here means prostration is established by the following, to quote but two passages. Talleci ina slechtain, condechaid carpat Fergusa taris co fo thri: He cast it (the corpse) prostrate, so that the chariot of Fergus went over it up to thrice. Lebar na hUidri, 69a. Dudechaid Lupait ar a chend, condatarlaicc inna slechtain ar chiund in carpait. In carput tairsi, or Patraic. Dochoid in carput tairse, co ba thri: Lupait went to meet him, so that she laid herself prostrate in the way of the chariot. The chariot over her,

in liachtso. Is de is *Periculosa Oratio* [3]a nomen.

It is from this that *Periculosa Oratio* is its name.

12. Na [3]tri chemmen[a] cinges in fergraith for a [1]culu, ocus tocing afrithisi, ised a trede in imruimdethar cach duine, idon, himbrethir, hi cocell, [4]hingnim; ocus ised [3]trede tressanaithnuigther iterum, ocus trisatoscigther do Chorp Crist.

12. The three steps which the ordained man steps backwards and which he steps in return, that is the triad wherein sinneth every person, to wit, in word, in thought, in deed; and that is the triad through which he is renewed again, and through which he is moved to the Body of Christ.

13. In mesad mesas in sacart in cailech ocus in obli, ocus [5]int ammus admidethar a combach, figor nan aithisse ocus nan esorcon ocus inna [6](aur) gabale insen.

13. The examination wherewith the priest examines the chalice and the Host, and the assault which the fraction implies, a figure of the contumelies and of the stripes and of the capture (is) that.

14. Ind oblæ forsin [3]meis, coland Crist hi crann cruche.

14. The Host upon the paten, the Body of Christ upon the tree of the Cross.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 64a—[2]Accented. [3]Given in Roman notation. [4]Second syllable accented. [5]*in* is placed overhead with reference mark corresponding to another before *t*. [6]What stands within (round) brackets is interlined above the word to which it is added.

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said Patrick. The chariot went over her, up to thrice. Vita Tripartita, Brit. Mus. Eg. 93, p. 140.

Deo = Ir., do Dia; contra Deum = Ir., fri Dia; nomen = Ir., ainm.

Fol. 64a.—12. [a]These three steps were to be taken in connection with the bowing thrice, mentioned in the preceding section. The celebrant stepped back each time to perform the ceremony unimpeded by the altar.

13. [a]The *examination* refers to the portions of the Liturgy in which it was prescribed to uncover and touch the Chalice and Host, prior to the Fraction.

15. A combag forsin meis, Corp Crist do chombug co cloaib forsin [6]c(h)roich.

16. In comrac conrecatar in da [6](l)leth[7] iarsin chombug, figor [1,4]oge chuirp Crist iarn [4]esergo.

17. In fobdod fombaiter indalled, figor fobdotha cuirp Crist inna fhuil, iarn aithchumbu [2]hi croich.

18. In pars benar a hichtur ind lithe [2]bis for laim cli, figor ind aithchummi cosind [1]lagin in oxil in tuib deiss; ar is [2]siar robui aiged Crist[a] in cruce, id est, contra civitatem:[a] ocus i[s] sair [4]robui aigeth Longini; arrobo thuaisre do shuidiu, issed ropo desse do Crist.

Ataat [3]secht ngne forsin chombug: idon, [3]cuic parsa di obli choitchinn,[b]

15. The fraction upon the paten, the Body of Christ being broken with nails upon the Cross.

16. The meeting whereby the two halves come together after the fraction, a figure of the integrity of the Body of Christ after Resurrection.

17. The submersion wherewith the other half is submerged, a figure of the submersion of the Body of Christ in His Blood, after the wounding on the Cross.

18. The part that is taken from the bottom of the half which is wont to be on the left-hand, a figure of the wounding with the spear in the armpit of the right side; for it is westward the face of Christ was on the Cross, namely, towards the city: and it is eastward the face of Longinus was; what was left for this person was right for Christ.

There are seven kinds upon the Fraction: that is, five parts of the

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MS. READINGS.

Fol. 64a.—[For MS. Readings of [1], [2], [3], [4], [6], see pp. 249, 250]. [7]*fig.*, the contraction of *figor*, was placed by an oversight after *leth;* it was erased by drawing a line through.

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18. [a-a]In cruce, id est, contra civitatem = Ir., hi croich, idon, frisin catraig.

[b]The *common* Host meant that used on ferial days, in quotidianis diebus.

[2]hi figuir [3]cuic[c] sense anmæ. A [3]secht di obli noeb ocus huag, acht na huaisli,[d] [2]hi figuir [3]secht[e] ndana Spiritus Sancti.[f] A [3]ocht di obli martir, [2]hi figuir ind nui fhiadnisi ochti.[g] A [3]noe di obli domnich, [2]hi figuir noe montar nimæ[h] ocus noe ngraith æcalsa.[i] A [3]oen [3]deac di obli Apstal, [2]hi figuir inna airme [6]anfuir[b]t(h)e Apostolorum iarn immarmus Iudæ. A [3]di [3]deac di

common Host, in figure of the five senses of the soul. Seven of the Host of Saints and Virgins, except the chief ones, in figure of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Eight of the Host of Martyrs, in figure of the octonary New Testament. Nine of the Host of Sunday, in figure of the nine folks of heaven and of the nine grades of the Church. Eleven of the Host of Apostles, in figure of the

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 64a.—[For MS. Readings of [2], [3], [6], see p. 250.]

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[c]Omnis anima in corpore ideo quinario numero censetur, quia quinque sensibus utitur. Nihil est enim quod sentimus ex corpore, nisi janua quinque-partita—aut videndo, aut audiendo, aut odorando, aut gustando, aut tangendo. Aug. Serm. 93, de verbis Ev. Matt. xxv. Op. tom. v., col. 350 B.

[d]The chief Saints are Martyrs and Apostles, as given just below.

[e]Et requiescit super eum spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiæ et pietatis,

Et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini. Isai. xi. 2, 3.

[f]Spiritus sancti = Irish, in spirito noib.

[g]That is, the four Gospels (4); Acts (5); Pauline Epistles (6); Catholic Epistles (7); and Apocalypse (8).

[h]Given in Prayer of St. Colga, Appendix F.

[i]De episcopo, de presbytero vel sacerdote, de diacono, de subdiacono, de lectoribus, de exorcista, de ostiario, are the respective titles of Books I–VII., in the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis. Book IX. is headed: De acolito et psalmista et clericis.

Quoting, though without mentioning, the tenth Canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, Gillebert of Limerick excluded Psalmists from the Ecclesiastical Grades. If his work *De usu ecclesiastico* was as applicable as this specimen of erudition, its loss may be borne with equanimity. The Canon and the inference therefrom were adopted in the Irish Church three centuries before Gillebert's time. Coll. Can. Hib. ix. 2.

obli [8]calann[k] ocus [6]c(h)enlai,[l] [2]hi foraithmut airmæ foirbte inna nAp-

Fol. 64b.—stal. | A [1]teora [1]deac di obli minchasc ocus fresgabale—prius,[a] ce fodailter ni bes miniu iarum, oc techt do laim[b]—, hi figuir

imperfect number of the Apostles after the scandal of Judas. Twelve of the Host of the kalends [of January, i.e., Circumcision] and of [last] Supper day, in remembrance of the perfect number of the Apostles.

MS. READINGS.

Fol 64a.—[For MS. Readings of [2], [6], see p. 250.] [8]Kl., with sign of contraction attached to *l*.

Fol. 64b.—[1]Given in Roman notation.

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[k]The connection between the Circumcision and the perfect number of the Apostles as here set forth is not corroborated by the Missal or any other liturgical documents with which I am acquainted.

[l]Cenlai is explained in Cormac's Glossary, L. B., 265a. (The words in brackets are interlined in the MS.) Cendla, dino, (idon, cenalæ) non de capite, sed de (cena) Domini dicitur; id est, cenele, idon, lathi fhledi Crist ocus a aspolu uimme: Cendla, however, (namely, Supper-day) is said not of the head [i. e., like Capitilavium, Caplait, given just before in the Glossary], but of the (Supper) of the Lord; that is, Supper-day, to wit, the day of the feast of Christ and his Apostles around him.

In the Life of St. Brigit, L. B. 63b, it is called dardain cendla, Thursday, (last) Supper-day. Cenla also occurs in the prose Rule of the Culdees, L. B. 10a. In both these places the day is further defined as that on which the Maundy (fossaic, ablutio) took place.

Fol. 64b.—[a]Prius = Irish arthuus. From *prius* to *laim* is placed awkwardly in the present position. It should have been inserted above, after *chombug*. The meaning is: Fraction into five, seven, eight, nine, eleven, twelve or thirteen parts took place *at first;* these portions were subdivided *afterwards*, in the administration of Communion.

[b]*Techt do laim* means literally *going to hand*. The following extracts show how it came to signify going to Communion. Omnes viri, quando ad altare accessuri sunt, lavant manus suas; et omnes mulieres nitida exhibent linteamina, ubi Corpus Christi accipiant. Cæsarii, Serm. 52, ubi sup., col. 267 E. Et ideo . . . observamus, quando nobis Corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat. Ejusdem Serm. 95, col. 357B. Non licet mulieri nuda manu Eucharistiam accipere. Conc. Autis., anno 578, can. 36.

It has to be remarked, however, that the Irish expression leaves it in doubt whether the particle was placed on the communicant's

Crist cona dib nApstalaib deac.

Thirteen of the Host of little Easter [Low Sunday] and of the feast of Ascension—at first, although they are distributed more minutely afterwards, in going to Communion—in figure of Christ with His twelve Apostles.

Inna [1]cuic, ocus inna [1]secht, ocus inna [1]ocht, ocus inna [1]noe, ocus inna [1]oen [1]deac, ocus inna [1]di [1]deac, ocus inna [1]teora [1]deac—ithe a cuic sescot samlith; ocus is hæ lin pars insin bis in obli Casc, ocus Notlaic, ocus Chenncigis; ar congaibther huile [2]hi Crist insin.

The five, and the seven, and the eight, and the nine, and the eleven, and the twelve, and the thirteen—they are five [and] sixty together; and that is the number of parts which is wont to be in the Host of Easter, and of the Nativity, and of Pentecost; for all that is contained in Christ.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 64 b.—[1] Given in Roman notation. [2] Accent on *i*.

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hand, as described in the authorities just quoted.

Some light is thrown upon the question by the thirteenth Canon of the second Synod of St. Patrick, and by an enactment preserved in the Sermo Synodalis in the Lebar Breac.

[*De Sacrificio.*]

In nocte Paschæ si fas est ferre foras? Non foras fertur, sed fidelibus deferatur. Quid aliud significat in una domo sumitur agnus [Exod. xii. 3, 4], quam sub uno fidei culmine creditur et communicatur Christus? Spelman, Conc. I., 57.

Nullus præsumat tradere communionem laico aut foeminæ ad deferendum infirmo. Serm. Synod., L. B., 248 a.

Taking both these decrees in connection (for the second is manifestly of considerable antiquity), the agent of *deferatur* and *deferendum* is the same. Accordingly, as the laity received the Communion on the hand to carry to the sick, we can infer that they received it in the same manner when communicating themselves.

Perhaps too the Canon of Cummian presents not alone the Frankish custom, for the regulation of which it was intended, but also that which obtained in the compiler's native country. Si accedentis de manu sacrificium ceciderit in stramen, vii. dies pœniteat is a quo ceciderit. Pœnit. Cum., xiii. 11.

Ocus is hi torrund cruisse suidigthir huile forsin [3]meis; ocus is for [3]cloen in pars ochtarach for lam cli, ut dictum est:[4] Inclinato capite, tradidit spiritum. [Joan. xix. 30.][c]

Suidigoth[d] combuig Casc ocus Notlaic;—[1]teora [*recte:* cetheora] parsa deac in eo na cros; a [1]noe [*recte:* a cetheora deac] inna tarsno; [1]fiche pars inna cuairtroth[e] ([1]cuic parsæ cache oxile); a [1]se [1]deac iter in cuaird ocus chorp na cros (idon, a [1]cetheora [ca]cha rainne).

And it is in form of a cross all is arranged upon the paten; and on the incline is the upper part on the left hand, as hath been said: Inclinato capite, tradidit spiritum.

The arrangement of the Fraction of Easter and of the Nativity;—thirteen [fourteen] parts in the tree of the crosses; nine [fourteen] in their cross-piece; twenty parts in the circuit-wheel (five parts of each angle); sixteen between the circuit and the body of the crosses (that is, four of each portion).

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 64 b.—[3]Accented. [4]inclinate.

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[c]Hereupon Mr. Stokes observes: "The quotation is from St. John, xix. 30, where the Vulgate has 'emisit' for 'tradidit'". Ubi sup., p. 504. This pairs well with his other discovery, that in St. John, ix. 7, the MS. has "manus tuas in" Siloe for "in natatoria" Siloe.

[d]The numerals in the arrangement do not correspond with sixty-five,—yet another instance of the mischief wrought by alphabetical notation. The Text, notwithstanding, can be restored. *Twenty* and *sixteen* are correct, as we learn from the respective explanatory clauses. Hence the tree and the cross-piece were of equal length; an inference borne out by the Turin Fragment: Ipsa species crucis, quid est nisi forma quadrati mondi? Ed. Nigra, p. 16. Deducting thirty-six and the centre piece from the total, we have fourteen each for the shaft and thwart. The readings accordingly should have been .iiii. parsa deac, instead of .iii. parsa deac; and .xiiii. instead of .viiii.

[e]This is the only mention, to my knowledge, in native documents of the circular feature so characteristic of our ancient Crosses.

[f]In pars medonach, is [g]hi diatet in tii oifres;[e] idon, figor in bruinni cosna [5]runaib.

[2]Ambis ho shen suas dind eo, do epscopbaib.[h]

A tarsno for laim cli, do sacardaib.[h]

The middle part, this is the one to which the celebrant goes [i.e., partakes of]; namely, a figure of the breast with the mysteries.

What is from there upwards of the tree, to bishops.

The thwart-piece on the left-hand to priests.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 64b.—[2]Accent on *i*. [5]accent on *u*.

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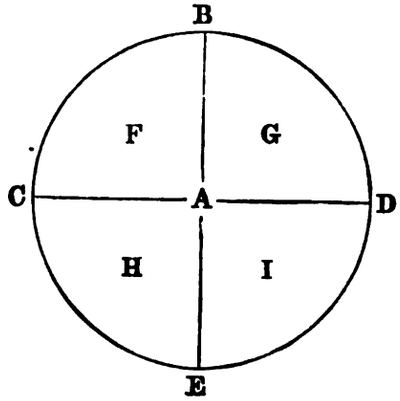
[f]The following diagram will illustrate the distribution.



A (1) Middle part—Celebrant.
AB (7) Upper part of shaft—Bishops.
AC (7) Left part of cross-piece—Priests.
AD (7) Right part of cross-piece—Inferior grades.
AE (7) Lower part of shaft — Anchorites [and ?].
F (9; i.e., 5 + 4) Upper left angle—Clerical students.
G (9; i.e., 5 + 4) Upper right angle—Innocent youths.
H (9; i.e., 5 + 4) Lower left angle—Penitents.
I (9; i.e., 5 + 4) Lower right angle—Married people and first communicants.
(65)

[e]*In tii oifres*, literally, *he who offers*. In the express mention of a single celebrant in this place, as well as in sections 11, 12, 13, and in the *Cum omnibus* of Bα(15), we obtain a catena of original proofs that joint Consecration was not the custom of the Early Irish Church.

[h]Here we have bishops and priests not consecrating, but communicating in the same manner as the inferior orders and the laity—confirming what we learn from Adamnan (i. 40; iii. 17), that individual Celebration was not practised in large monastic establishments. In fact, with the great numbers of episcopal and sacerdotal rank belonging to those communities, that described in the Text was the only practicable arrangement.

This is what is meant in the thirtieth Canon of the first Synod of St. Patrick, respecting a

Ani for laim deis, do huilib fogradaib.	The portion [athwart] on the right hand, to all under-grades.
[2]Ani ond tarsno [2]sis, do anchordaib . . . aithirge.	The portion from the thwart-piece downwards, to anchorites of . . .? penance.
[2]Ani [2]bis isind oxil ochtarthuaiscerdaig, do firmacclerchib.	The portion that is in the upper left-hand angle, to true clerical students.
Ind ochtardescerdach, do maccaib enngaib.[i]	The upper right-hand (portion), to innocent youths.
An ichtarthuaiscerdach, do aes aithirge.	The lower left-hand (portion), to folk of penance.
An ichtardescerdach, do aes lanamnassa dligthig, ocus do aes na tet do laim riam.[k]	The lower right-hand (portion), to folk of lawful wedlock and to folk who have not gone to hand [i.e., to Communion] before.
Issed tra as brig lades[in], menmæ dobuith hi figraib in . ., ocus co rop	Now the effect of this is, (to cause) a meaning to be in [these?] figures, and that this be your meaning, as if

Fol. 65 a.—he tomenme | ind rann

MS. READINGS.

Fol 64 b.—[2]Accent on *i*.

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bishop outside his own diocese: Episcopus . . . die Dominica offerat tantum susceptione . . . Spelman, I. 53.

[i] Compare the Antiphon *Sinite parvulos* in the Missal and in the St. Gall Fragment.

In the Gallican Church, to judge from the sixth Canon of the second Council of Maçon, the practice was different: Quæcunque reliquiæ sacrificiorum post peractam missam in sacrario supersederint, quarta et sexta feria innocentes pueri ab illo cujus interest ad ecclesiam adducantur, et, indicto eis jejunio, easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant. Martene, I., col. 442.

[k] *Tet do laim riam* stands at the beginning of a line. On the remainder is continued the sentence following, which commences on the next (and last) line of the page. The breaks in the Text are owing to the writing being defaced by damp.

arafoemi din obli, amail bith ball di Crist assa chroich, ocus [1]arambe croch [a] sa [rit?] hir for cach a rith[a] fhein, hore noenigethir frisin Chorp crochte.

the part which you receive of the Host were a member of Christ from off His Cross; and as if it were this Cross whence runs upon each one his own draught [lit. run], since it is united to the crucified Body.

Ni techte a shlocod in[na] parsa cen a mlaissiuth; amal nan coer cen saigith mlas hirruna [1]De.

It is not proper to swallow it, the part, without tasting it; as it is not proper not to pause in tasting the mysteries of God.

Ni coir [2]a techt fo culfhiacli; hi figuir nan coir rosaegeth forruna [1]De, na forberther heres noco.

It is not proper to have it go under back teeth; in figure that it is not proper to dwell overmuch upon the mysteries of God, that heresy be not forwarded thereby.

Finit. Amen. Deo gratias.

MS. READINGS.

Fol. 65a.—[1]Accent on *e*. [2]Accented.

Fol. 65a.—[a]This is evidence of Communion under both kinds. It accords with what is related in the Lebar Breac panegyric of St. Brigit, 65b: Fecht naill do Brigit ic techt do laim in epscuip, co tarfas di cend buic isin cailech affrind. Rooipdestar Brigit in cailech affrind. . . . Dochuaid iarsin do laim ocus ni fhacca in fuath: Another time, as Brigit was going to the hand of the bishop, there appeared to her the head of a he-goat in the Chalice of Mass. Brigit refused the Chalice of Mass. . . . She went after that to hand and saw not the appearance.

According to the Prose Rule of the Culdees (if, that is, my emendation of the Text be reliable; about which, in the absence of a second copy, I am diffident), an exception was made in the case of first year's novices. Inti teti prius . . , do sacarbhaicc nama theit, ocus ni theit do chailech, ocus ni theit iterum usque ad finem anni. Teit iarum do . . . diblinaib. He who goes for the first time, to the sacrifice alone he goes, and he goes not afterwards until the end of the year. He goes the second time to both (*i.e.*, to the Bread and the Chalice). L. B., 10a.

B.

LEBAR BREAC, Lith. Ed., p. 251a.

De figuris et spiritualibus sensibus oblationis sacrificii ordinis.

Figuir tra inchollaigthi Crist o chompert co a chesad, ocus co a fresgabail—inchoiscid sin ord innaifrind.

1. In tempul ditnes in popul ocus ind altoir—figuir inna nditen diadacda diada, dianebrad: sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me [Ps. xvi. 8].

2. Ind altoir isin tempul—figuir ingrema na Cristaide imofolgnat fochaide inellach cuirp Crist. Prout Spiritus Sanctus ex persona Isaiae dixit: Torcular conculcavi solus [lxiii 3]; id est, ipse cum membris suis.

3. In cailech aifrind—[figuir] inna heclaise rofuirmed ocus rofothaiged for ingreim ocus martra na fhatha ocus tuicse nDe archena. Sicut Christus dixit: Super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam [Matt. xvi. 18], i. for sonairti irsi na martirech toisech rolaitea i fotha in chumtaig,

The figure of the Incarnation of Christ from [His] Conception to His Passion and to His Ascension, that explains the Order of the Mass.

1. The Church that shelters the people and the altar, a figure of the shelter of the Godhead divine, of which was said: sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me.

2. The Altar in the Temple, a figure of the persecution of the Christians, wherein they bear tribulation in union with the Body of Christ. Prout, etc.

3. The chalice of the Mass, [a figure] of the Church which was placed and was founded upon the persecution and martyrdom of the prophets and elect of God besides. Sicut, etc.; that is, upon the firmness of the faith of the first martyrs who were laid in the foundation of

ocus inna martirech ṅdedinach conice hElii ocus Enoc.

4. Usci isin cailech artus icon timthirthid[a], ised istechta. Et dicis: quaeso te, Pater, banna lassin; deprecor te, Fili, banna lassin; obsecro te, Spiritus Sancte, in tres banna lassin —figuir in popuil doroiset in eolus in rechta nui tre oentaid thoile na Trinoti, ocus tria erlathar in Spirta Noib. Ut dictum est: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem et prophetabunt, et reliqua [Joel. ii. 28; Act. ii. 17]. Et, ut dictum est: Venient ab Oriente et ab Occidente et ab Aquilone, et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Jacob in regno Dei [Luc. xiii. 29]; id est, in ecclesia terrena primo, ultimo in regno cælesti.

6. Fin iarum isin cailech ar in usce .i. deacht Crist ar doenacht [ocus] for in popul, in aimsir a thusten ocus tusten in popuil. Ut est: Angelus sermonem fecit, Christum virgo concepit .i. is annsin tanic in deacht ar cend na doenachta. Is don popul dino atbert: Namquid ego in utero concepi omnem populum istum [Cf.

the building, and of the last martyrs up to Elias and Enoch.

4. Water into the chalice at first by the minister, it is what is meet. Et dicis: Quæso te, Pater,—a drop with that; deprecor te, Fili, a drop with that; obsecro te, Spiritus Sancte, the third drop with that, a figure of the people that was poured into knowledge of the new Law through the unity of the will of the Trinity and through the presence of the Holy Spirit. Ut dictum est, etc.

6. Wine afterwards into the chalice upon the water, to wit, the Divinity of Christ upon the humanity [and] upon the people at the time of his begetting and of the begetting of the people. Ut est, etc.; namely, it was then the Divinity came to meet the humanity. It is of the people, however, he said: Numquid, etc.

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[a] Timpred, a phonetic form, is given in the MS. The Gloss on 1 Cor. iii. 5 (Ministri ejus cui credidistis) in the Würzburg Codex is: *Moge ocus timthirthidi indi diaruchretsidsi:* servants and minisisters of Him in whom you have believed. Fol. 8 c.

Diaconus græcum nomen est, et latine minister, eo quod altario et gradui sacerdotali min-

Job xxxi. 15]. Et iterum: In tristitia et in dolore concipies filios tuos [Gen. iii. 16]. In eclais atbert sin. Ut apostolus dicit: Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec Christus formetur in vobis. [Galat. iv. 19].

The Church said that. Ut, etc.

Ised chanair ic tabairt fina isin cailech nofrind: [Re]mittat Pater, banna annsin; indulgeat Filius, banna aile andsin; misereatur Spiritus Sanctus, in tres banna andsin.

What is chanted in putting wine into the Chalice of the Mass is: [Re]mittat Pater, a drop with that; indulgeat Filius, another drop with that; misereatur Spiritus Sanctus, the third drop with that.

7. Acanar dino icon oifrind iarsin, itir Intrait ocus Orthanaib ocus Imthormach, corice Liachtain nan Apstal ocus Psalm digraid . i . figuir rechta aicnid sin, in rohathnuiged aichne Crist tria runaib ocus gnimaib ocus tomoltod naicnid. Ut dictum est: Vidit Abraham diem meum et gavisus est [Joan. viii. 56]. Uair is tria recht naicnid itconnairc Abraham.

7. Now what is chanted at the Mass after that, both Introit and Orations and Augment, as far as the Lection of the Apostles and bigradual Psalm, that is a figure of the Law of nature, wherein was renewed the knowledge of Christ through mysteries and deeds and convulsions of nature. Ut, etc. For it was through the law of nature Abraham saw.

8. Liacht nan Apstal[b] ocus in Salm digraid [ocus] oshein co dinochtud choilig oifrind—is figuir sin rechta littri inbertar[c] in rofiugrad Crist; ocus ni fes cadacht, [cid][d] rofiugrad ann,

8. The Lection of the Apostles and the bigradual Psalm, and from that to the uncovering of the Chalice of Mass, that is a figure of the Law of the letter . . ? wherein was

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istret. Coll. Can. Hib. III. 1. See Notes L. M. The omission of the section respecting the bread was the result probably of an oversight.

[b] The scribe, in total ignorance of the meaning, gives *Liachtu Apstal ocus Liachtu Soscoli ocus in di shalm digraid: The Lections of the Apostles and Lections of the Gospel and the two bigradual Psalms.*

[c] This word I am unable to explain.

[d] We have here an instructive example of the

ocus ni roacht inni, ocus ni roforbthiged trit. Neminem enim ad perfectum duxit lex. [Heb. vii. 19.]

figured Christ; and he was not known as yet, [although] he was figured therein, and the thing [i.e., the reality] came not, and perfection was not wrought through it. Neminem, etc.

9. In dinochtad coleth in choilig oifrind ocus inna hablainne ocus icantar occu, itir Shoscel ocus Alleoir—figuir rechta litri sin, in roterchanad Crist cofollus, acht na facus he cein congenir.

9. The uncovering, as far as half, of the chalice of the Mass and of the host, and what is chanted by them, both Gospel and Benediction, a figure of the Law of the letter [is] that, wherein Christ was proclaimed manifestly, but He was not seen until He was born.

10. Comgabail in choilig oifrind ocus na mesi iarn a landirgiud, icanair infersa .i. Immola Deo sacrificium laudis* [Ps. xlix. 14]—figuir gene Crist ocus a inocbala tria fertaib ocus mirbulib. Novi Testamenti initium sin.

10. The raising up of the chalice of Mass and of the paten after fully uncovering them, whereat is chanted this verse: Immola Deo sacrificium laudis, [is] a figure of the birth of Christ and of His glory through deeds and marvels. The beginning of the New Testament [is] that.

11. Intan tra chanar: *Accepit Jesus panem, stans in medio discipu-*

11. The time, now, *Accepit*, etc. is chanted, the priests bow thrice for

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way in which the Mac Egans, Mac Firbises, O'Clerys, and other copyists corrupted, often beyond the possibility of restoration, the valuable Texts confided to them for transcription. The scribe had before him *cadacht, cid: nondum, licet.* Not understanding what *cadacht* signified, he manufactured *cid acht* from it, and omitted the original word *cid;* thereby introducing two radical perversions.

Cadacht also occurs in the *Crith Gablach* (II.), Ancient Laws of Ireland, iv. 366. But the "Brehon" who transcribed the work knew his Text so well, that he divided the vocable into *cad acht;* and these are faithfully reproduced in the official edition!

* As the transcription of the Lebar Breac displays complete illiteracy with respect to Latin, the introduction of this verse into the Text must have taken place at a time when the selection was still left to individual option.

lorum suorum, — usque in finem, dotoirnet[f] fotri na sacairt[f] do aitrige do na pecthaib doronsat, ocus idprait[f] do Dia, ocus canait[g] in salmsa uli: *Miserere mei, Deus* [Ps. 1]; ocus ni theit guth ison leo, co na tairmescthar in sacart, uair ised is techta co na roscara a menma fri Dia, cid in oen vocabulo, icon ernaigthisea: uair is bidbu in uird spirtalla ocus mihairitin[h] fri Dia, menip amlaid sin is denta. Conid desin ise ainm na hernaigthisea .i. *Periculosa Oratio.*

12. Na tri ceimend chindes in fer graid for a chula, ocus chinnes iterum for a gnuis—ise sin tredi ituitend in duine .i. in imradud, imbrethir, ingnim. Ocus ise sin tredi tresanathnuidigther in duine iterum co Dia.

13. Int aimsiugud aimsiges in sacart in cailech oifrind ocus in meis ocus in ablaind, ocus int amus dosbeir forsin

sorrow for the sins they did, and they offer to God, and they chant all this psalm: Miserere mei, Deus; and no sound is sent forth by them (the people) then, that the priest be not disturbed, for what is meet is that his mind separate not from God, even in one vocable, at this prayer: for it is guilty of the spiritual order and of bad reception from God, unless it is like that it is done; wherefore it is from this that the name of this prayer is *Periculosa Oratio.*

12. The three steps the man of order takes backwards and takes again forward — that is the triad wherein man falls, to wit, in thought, in word, in deed. And that is the triad through which man is renewed again to God.

13. The aim which the priest aims at the chalice of Mass and at the paten, and the attack which he makes

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Compare the passage in the Book of Armagh: Fixoque ibi tentorio, debita paschæ vota sacrificiumque laudis cum omni devotione Sanctus Patricius cum suis Deo altissimo, secundum prophetæ vocem, reddidit. Fol. 3b. 1.

[f]Here again the writer took *tanaurat* of his original to be the plural. Accordingly, he makes *sacart* into the plural *sacairt*, and *atnopuir* into *atnopruit*; thereby completely altering the sense.

[g]The assertion that the MISERERE was chanted before, or during, the Consecration is worthy of the transcriber.

[h]The MS. reads *ni hairitin*. The copyist, that is, took *airitin* to be the nominative. He was of course unaware that *airitin* (*airiten*) is the genitive; the nominative being *airitiu*, an *n*-stem. *Ni* is therefore substituted by him for *mi*, an inseparable prefix signifying *bad*. *Uird* and *mihairitin* are both objective genitives upon *bidbu: guilty of the spiritual order and of bad reception.*

ablaind dia combach—figuir sin inna haithise ocus inna hesoircne ocus inna nergabal forfhulaing Crist. Ocus ise sin a thaithmech sianside.

upon the Host to break it, that is a figure of the contumelies and of the stripes and of the capture which Christ underwent. And that is its literal explanation.

14. Ocus in abland forsin meis—coland Crist forsin croich.

14. And the Host upon the paten, the Body of Christ upon the Cross.

15. A combach forsin meis—coland Crist dochombach fri crand crochi.

15. The confraction upon the paten, the Body of Christ being broken against the tree of the Cross.

16. In comrac chomracithir in da leth iarsin combach—figuir oige Chuirp Crist iarn esergi.

16. The meeting wherein the two halves come together after the confraction, a figure of the integrity of the Body of Christ after Resurrection.

17. In fodbugud fhodbaigther indalleth[1] iarum—figuir sin fhodbaigti inna fuile dothebrensat Iudaide a Colaind Crist.

17. The submersion whereby the other half is submerged afterwards, that [is] a figure of the submersion of the blood which the Jews drained from the Body of Christ.

18. In rand benair a hichtar in lethi bis i laim cli in sacairt—figuir sin ind athcumai cusin lagin i laim Longini, isind achsaill toibe deiss Isu: uair is siar boi aiged Crist in a chroich .i. frisin catraig, Ierusalem, ocus is sair roboi aiged Longini; ocus inni

18. The portion which is taken from the lower part of the half that is in the left hand of the priest, that is a figure of the wounding with the spear in the hand of Longinus, in the armpit of the right side of Jesus: for westward was the face of Christ

[1]Na da leth, the two halves, MS. This arose, as in the case of the transcriber of the A-Text, from confounding *indalleth* with *indaleth*.

ropu tuathbel dosum, issed on robo dess do Crist.

on His Cross, to wit, towards the city, Jerusalem, and eastward was the face of Longinus; and the thing that was left for this person the same in deed was right for Christ.

Uair issed boi aiged Crist frinde, oc tidecht chucaind, ut dictum est: Orietur in diebus illis vobis, timentibus nomen Domini, sol justitiæ [Malach. iv. 2]. Et: Deus ab Oriente [*lege*, Austro] veniet. [Habac. iii. 3.]

For the face of Christ was towards us, coming to us. Ut, etc.

A chul, immorro, frind, ic tocht uaind, ocus se ic togairm chaich uli ehuci in a diaid, dicens: Venite omnes ad me, post me [Matt. xi. 28].

His back, however, toward us, in going from us, and He calling each and every one to Himself after him. Dicens, etc.

In chongbail congbus lam int shacairt in mias ocus in coilech aifrind—figuir comthinoil sin muintire nime ocus talman in oen muintir: .i. muintir nime per mensam, muintir thalman per calicem.

The simultaneous holding wherewith the hand of the priest holds the paten and the chalice of Mass—that [is] a figure of the assembling of the people of heaven and of earth into one people: to wit, the people of heaven by the paten, the people of earth by the chalice.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI.

[*Figures within brackets refer to Synopsis, p.* 144.]

Fig. 1. Fol. 6a.—Portions of Gospel of St. John; vi. 30 and vii. 45, 46 in juxtaposition Marginal dots denote the punctures made to ensure regular ruling. Script hangs from, instead of resting upon, the lines. The Text reads as follows:—

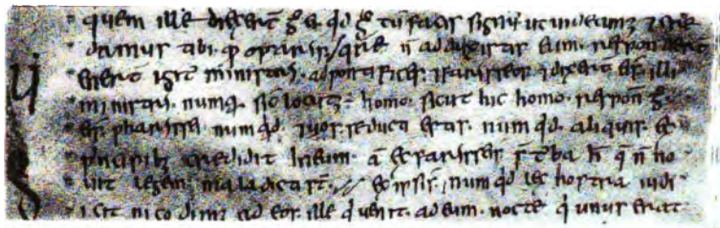
[Joan. vi. 29.] quem [misit] ille.
[30.] Dixerunt ergo ei: Quid ergo tu facis signum, ut videamus et cre |
damus tibi? quod operaris? |
[vii. 45.] Venerunt igitur ministri ad pontifices et farisseos, et dixerunt eis illi: |
Quare non adduxistis eum?
[46.] Responderunt | ministri: numquam sic locutus est homo, sicut hic homo.
[47.] Responderunt ergo | eis pharissei: numquid et vos seducti estis?
[48.] Numquid aliquis ex | principibus credidit in eum, aut ex farisseis?
[49.] Sed turba hæc, quæ non no|vit legem, maladicti sunt. |
[50.] Dicit Nicodimus ad eos, ille qui venit ad eum nocte, qui unus erat |
ex ipsis:
[51.] Numquid lex nostra iudi- |

Fig. 2. Fol. 12a.—Upper portion of initial P; section of zoomorphic lacertine border. Body of Capital is 1$\frac{1}{16}$ inch long; main stroke, $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, same pattern, serves as left border, and is carried $\frac{1}{8}$ beyond lowest ruled space. A little above the twelfth ruling, the zig-zag design terminates. From this to the thirteenth is devoid of ornament, and encircled by a narrow band drawn within, and touching, the marginal lines. Upper moiety of terminal portion graduates inside to half the width; the lower is curved on same side, i. e., segment of circle, commencing at narrowest part of first half is carried from right to left a little under, and terminates on margin a little higher than, the end of external line; to which it is joined by a third stroke. A broad line placed in the centre, oblique in the first, and angular in the second section, forms the ornamentation.

Lower border is narrower than the others. It does not quite touch that of the left-hand margin. The design ends in hind part of beast of prey. The legs are carried down towards the right, as low as the end of Capital. The tail is drawn between and around them, ending on centre behind the paws.

As the horizontal bands take up four spaces, the page contains but nine lines of Text. The writing was executed by the first hand. (See p. 148.)

1



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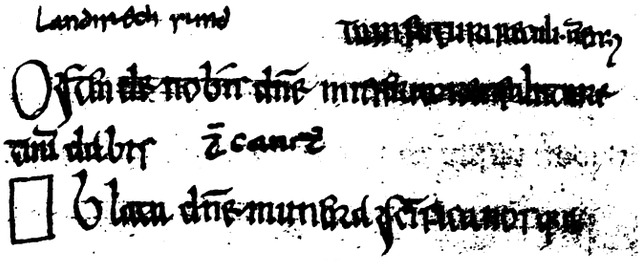

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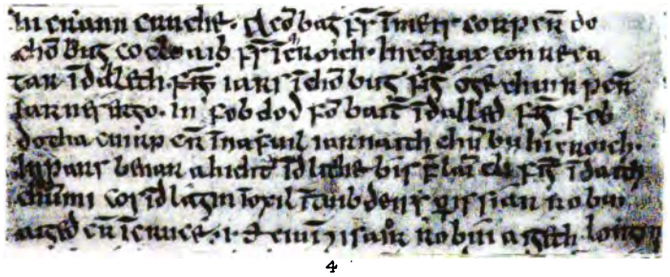

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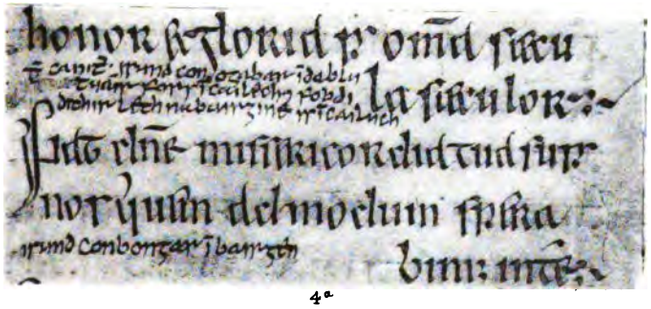

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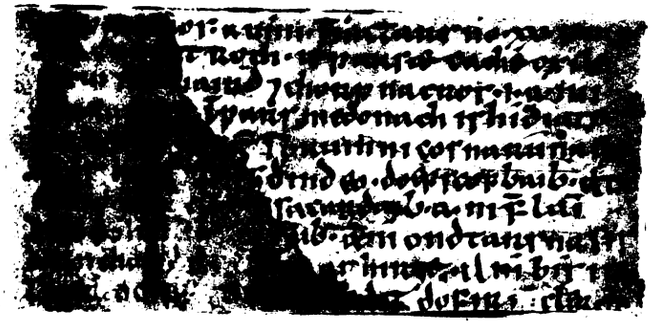

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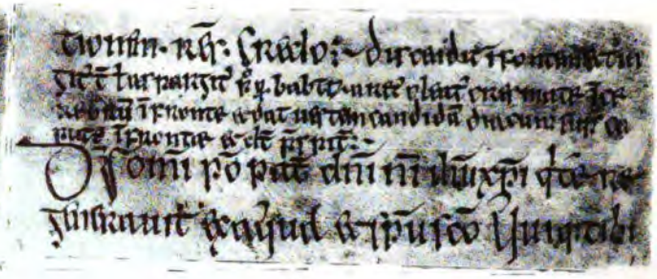

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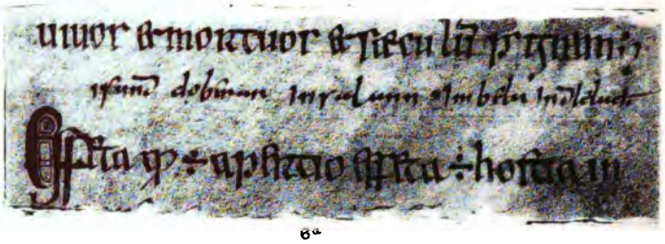

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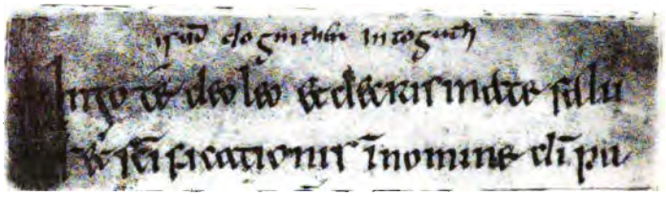

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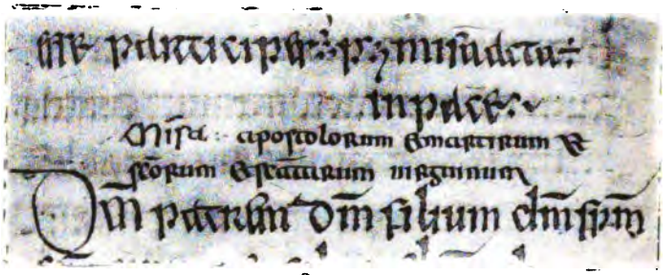

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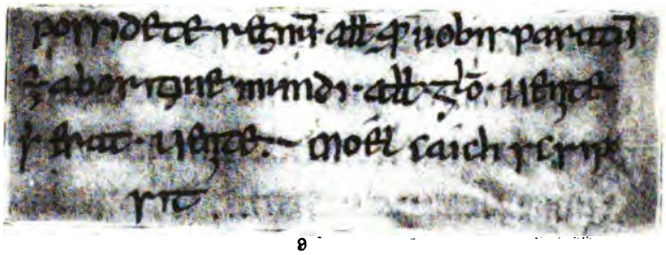

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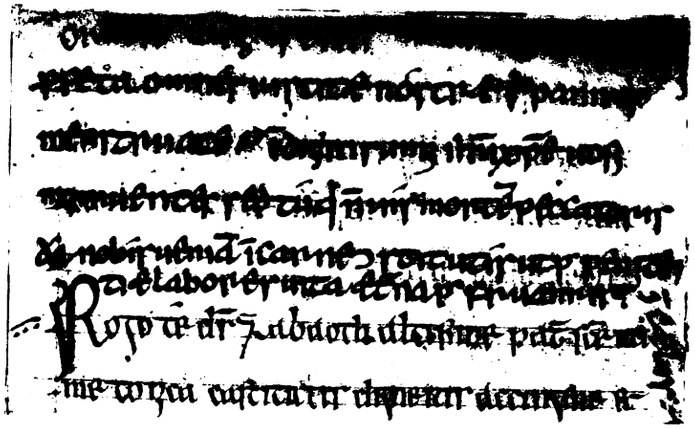

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Fig. 3. Fol. 19a.—Examples of Majuscule:—Angular (1), O in *Oblata;* Uncial (2), O in *Ostende*: Semi-Majuscule:—Angular (3), Text. All by first hand. Minuscule of Moelcaich. The Palimpsest contains, I judge, the opening of a Psalm-excerpt, followed by "Usque in finem." Observe on first line the conclusion of sentence placed at the end.

Fig. 3a. Fol. 64a.—Reduced form of (3), by first hand. Note *h* and *l* interlined, over *croich* and *indaleth*, and *fig.* erased—all showing that the scribe worked from a copy.

Fig. 4. Fol. 32a.—(3), by second hand. Minuscule by Moelcaich. Note here, as in Fig. 3, the termination of sentence arranged at end of line. To finding spaces thus vacant we owe Moelcaich's Rubrics.

Fig. 4a. Fol. 64b.—Reduced form of (3), by second hand. One of the nails, mentioned at p. 186, passed between the *a* of *diate* and the *n* of *runaib*, near the right margin. Portion on the left is almost illegible, arising from damp.

Fig. 5. Fol. 55b.—Reduced form of (3), in the Latin Rubrics, by second hand.

The Text is to be read:—

Discendit in fontem et tin|gitur ter, vel aspargitur. Postquam babtizaretur, oleatur cresmate in ce|rebrum, in fronte; et dat vestem candidam diacunus super ca-| pute, in frontæ; et dicit prespiter.

The vocalic and consonantal interchange will not fail to be noticed. (Cf. pp. 240–4.)

Fig. 6. Fol. 49a. } Two Irish Rubrics in the Ordo Baptismi, in Angular Minuscule (4).
,, 6a. Fol. 56a. } (See pp. 170–1.)

Fig. 7. Fol. 36a.—Latin Title in Uncial Minuscule (5). Observe the abrasion of the original opening word. The three points after the contracted form were left intact. The first reading, I consider, was Ora:· [= Oratio.] (See pp. 155, 224.)

Fig. 8. Fol. 35a.—Moelcaich's Signature. (See p. 228.)

Fig. 9. Fol. 13a.—Codex Rescriptus; four lines of 13a were abraded. The original was as follows, line for line, as much as I could recover with the unaided eye:—

Line 1, [Peccatores, te] rogamus, audi nos.
,, 2, ut pacem dones, rogamus,
,, 3, audi nos. Agne Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
,, 4, [First part vacant] misserere nobis.

This, it will have been observed, was embodied by Moelcaich in his Recension. (See p. 194.)

Note Title at top of page, with reference marks on left margin, corresponding to those opposite Rogo, on the same side.

The blotch between *menstruate* and *indigni* represents a hole made in the process of abrasion.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 135, line 16, *insert* A.D. 1023 *before* 'Tadg.'
,, 138, last line but one, first column, *for* 'xvi' *read* 'xvii.'
,, 141, line 13 from bottom, *for* 'Folio 13b' *read* 'Folio 13a.'
,, 144, l. 1, *after* 'angular' *insert* a semicolon.
,, 144, l. 2, *after* '45a' *insert* a comma.
,, 152, l. 13, *remove* 'to' *after* 'it.'
,, 154, l. 27. *Add note:* Cf. the character of Columbanus, 'traditionum Scoticarum tenacissimus consectator,' quoted by Greith from an old MS. of St. Gall. *Op. infra cit., p. 295.*
,, 161, l. 9, *after* 'speech.' *add* '*Sechtarestid* (outside-hearer) is the equivalent employed in the Old-Irish Version of excerpts from Sulpicius Severus' Life of St. Martin.§
§ L. B., 59b, 60a.
,, 166, l. 16, *remove* '[o].'
,, 171, l. 4, *remove* '*h*' *from* '*chrismate.*'
,, 173, line 3, *insert* 'Cf.' *before* 'euit.'
,, 174, last line of second paragraph, *insert* 'Klosterneuburg Poem' *before* 'Zimmer *Gloss. Hib.*, p. 265.'
,, 182, Note I is placed before Notes G and H.
,, 183, add to Note. 'It is also found, occupying the first place, in the Antiphonary of Bangor, to be employed at Nocturns.'
,, 184, l. 20, *for* 'multos' *read* 'multas.' If *multas* be the original reading, it qualifies *multitudines.* Query, is not *multos* the true lection?
,, 188, l. 30, *remove* '?' *after* Nullum; *insert* '=' *before, and remove* '?' *after,* quam. It is a Latin word for word rendering of the Irish idiom.
,, 190, l. 23, *remove* 'N.B.'
,, 192, l. 3, *place* a comma *after* 'martyrum.'
,, 197, l. 10, *for* 'omina' *read* 'omnia.'
,, 198, l. 17, *remove* 'ad.'
,, 200, l. 18, *remove* 'St.'
,, 207, add to Note [b]: 'ho tudidin, gl. tuo ductu, Ml. 50 a.'
,, 218, l. 3, to second 'Brendini' add Note: 'Clonfert, 577.' The names without Notes on pp. 217–8 have been annotated at p. 193.
,, 224, l. 13, *remove* [b] *after* 'Deum.'
,, ,, l. 19, *for* 'dittogaphy' *read* 'dittography.'
,, ,, l. 20, *for* [b] *place* [a] *before* 'Leonine'; *for* [c] *place* [b] *before* '+ Domine.'
,, 225, l. 1, *for* 'per' *read* '[b] per.'
,, 228, l. 16, *for* '5[e]' *place* '6[e]' *before* 'famulis.'
,, 249, l. 1, *for* 'quadno' *read* 'quando.'
,, 250, l. 10, *insert* '[a]' *after* 'mesad.'
,, 254, l. 3, *remove* 'of the feast.'
,, 257, l. 18, *for* 'a meaning to be in' *read* '(the) mind to be (fixed) on.'
,, ,, l. 19, *for* 'meaning' *read* 'mind.'
,, 258, l. 9, add Note to 'rosaegeth': 'Cf. Ni coir do neuch rosacht ronicad Dauid, Ml. 18 d.; ind rosacht, gl. cunctatio, 84 c.; inna rosachtae, gl. hesitationis, 19 a.'
,, 263, l. 8, *for* 'tanaurat' *read* 'tanaurnat.'

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VIII.—*On a Syriac MS. belonging to the Collection of Archbishop Ussher.* By the Very Rev. JOHN GWYNN, D.D.

[Read, May 10, 1886.]

IT has long been a current statement in works on the criticism of the New Testament, that Archbishop Ussher possessed a MS. unique in containing the entire New Testament in Syriac. The existence of such a MS. has been asserted, and its loss lamented, by several successive biblical scholars. Bishop Marsh seems to have led the way, in the notes to his translation of J. D. Michaelis's *Introduction* (1793). He cites (vol. II., p. 544) from the London Polyglott (tom. v., p. 440) a note, in which Walton acknowledges his obligation to Ussher's "*instructissima bibliotheca*" for the Syriac text of the passage known as the *Pericope de Adultera* (John vii. 53—viii. 11); but adds the remark—"Since that time [1657] no one has ever heard of this MS. of Archbishop Ussher, nor is it enumerated in the catalogue of Ussher's MSS. in the *Catalogus MSS. Angl. & Hib.*" In quite recent times, Dr. Tregelles, both in his *Introduction* (1860), and in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1863, vol. III., Art. VERSIONS, ANCIENT SYRIAC), has pointed out that De Dieu of Leyden, twenty-six years before Walton, had printed the same passage of St. John, and had referred likewise to Ussher's MS. as its source. "It appears (he says, *Introd.*, p. 282) from De Dieu that Archbishop Ussher sent him a Syriac MS. containing *all* that is deficient in the Peshitto." And again (p. 284): "If the MS. which De Dieu received from Ussher could be traced and discovered, it would be of considerable value in relation to the question of the authorship of the supplementary parts of the Syriac Version, as it seems to be the *only* copy of which we have any

knowledge which contains *every part* of the N. T. in Syriac." And so lately as 1883, Dr. Scrivener has written to the like effect in the last edition of his invaluable *Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.* (p. 315).

I propose, accordingly, to trace the MS. in question; and to show that it is not lost, but is and has been for more than 200 years in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin; and farther, that its contents have been misdescribed in such a manner as to have hitherto prevented its identification, and caused it to be overlooked.

The MS. which I thus identify as that which De Dieu and Walton have referred to, is catalogued as B. 5. 16. Its bulk is inconsiderable, and it can claim no venerable antiquity. It is a small quarto, written on paper; its age is little more than two centuries and a-half; and its present binding (dating, I am told, about 1820) gives it quite a modern appearance. But I hope to show that its history and contents are sufficiently interesting to warrant me in inviting attention to the account of it which I now proceed to give.

It is written entirely in the Syriac language, in the cursive character usually found in Syriac printed books and in MSS. of recent date, often called Maronite. It consists of two distinct divisions, of which the *first* is exclusively biblical, containing not by any means the whole N. T., but only the following portions of it:—(1) The *Pericope de Adultera;* (2) the Four Minor Catholic Epistles (2 Peter; 2 & 3 John, and Jude); (3) the Apocalypse. The *second* division contains a tractate of Ephraim Syrus, 'On the Love of Wisdom and Knowledge.' It is with the *first* of these two divisions that I am about to occupy the space at my disposal: a few words will convey all that I have at present to say about the *second.*

The principle of association on which the six portions of Scripture which I have mentioned are here brought together, is evident on the face of it. They are, as is well known, the portions of the N. T. which are not contained in the ancient Peshitto, the Syriac Vulgate.

When the Syriac N. T. was sent to Europe by Ignatius, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, about the middle of the sixteenth century (1552), and first printed at Vienna (1555) under the auspices of the Emperor Ferdinand, these deficiencies were at once noticed. Widmanstadt, the editor, apologizes

for them in two notes, prefixed to the Gospels and to the Catholic Epistles severally; and in the subjoined Epistle to Georgius Gienger and Jacobus Jonas he affirms that the portions in question are extant in Syriac, and that Moses of Marden, the agent whom Ignatius had commissioned to procure the printing of the Syriac text, had gone back to his native Mesopotamia, and would bring copies of them with him on his return thence. It is now admitted on all hands that the Peshitto (from whatever cause) never included these parts of the N. T. as it is usually received in the West. But it seems that Widmanstadt, and the scholars of the sixteenth and even of the following century, attributed the absence of them from his edition to the defectiveness of the Patriarch's MS. Accordingly we find that our own illustrious Ussher, when he began to collect MSS. of Oriental versions of the Scriptures, before the first quarter of the seventeenth century was completed, had instructed an agent in the East to procure for him a Syriac version of the missing portions of the N. T. None of Ussher's letters to this person (Thomas Davies, a British merchant at Aleppo) is preserved; but the purport of the instructions given may be gathered from Davies' replies, six of which are printed in Parr's *Life of Ussher*, and reprinted in Elrington's (Letters 71, 73, 90, 102, 116, 125), together with two which had escaped Parr (388 and 401). The first of this series, dated August 29, 1624, acknowledges one from Ussher, which apparently conveyed his first directions concerning the purchase of Syriac and other MSS. Davies' subsequent letters relate his successes and failures, the difficulties and delays that hindered the execution of his commission: and so early as January 162⅝, he writes as follows:—"Those parcels of the N. T., viz., the History of the Adulterous Woman, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of Jude, with the book of the Revelation, I have procured, and sent them, together with the five books of Moses, and a small tract of Ephraim, by the ship *Patience* of London" (Letter 102). In this passage (it is to be observed) the mention of "the five books of Moses" is to be read parenthetically, for they have been described just before as a distinct purchase. In another letter (90), which, though it stands before the one I have quoted, I shall presently show (p. 281) by internal evidence to be misplaced, and to belong to the latter half of 1626,

Davies inquires whether "the five books of Moses, with those parcels of the N. T. (which your Lordship writ for) in the Chaldean tongue, sent you ten months ago," had come safely to hand? In the former letter he had explained that he uses the words "Chaldean" and "Syrian" as synonymous. I may remark, in passing, that in those days letters from Aleppo were often six, and apparently never less than four, months in reaching Ireland. In this case the books sent in January seem to have been received in June, 1626, by Ussher, who was then in London. He writes thence on the 23rd of that month to Dr. Ward at Oxford (Letter 110), to inform him that he had "received out of Mesopotamia an old MS. of the Syrian translation of the Pentateuch"; and also had "received" (but he does not state from what source) "the parcels of the N. T. which hitherto we have wanted in that language (viz., the History of the Adulterous Woman, the 2nd Epistle of Peter, the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of St. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation); as also a small tractate of Ephraim Syrus in his own language." Here it is to be observed that the tractate of Ephraim is again associated with the "parcels of the N. T." References to this MS. recur in his correspondence; but one only need be cited: it is in a letter (154) to De Dieu of Leyden, dated October 1, 1629. This eminent scholar had forestalled him, as regards one important part of his acquisition, by publishing, in 1627, the Revelation in Syriac from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden. Ussher accordingly, in the letter referred to, compliments him on his publication, and informs him that he had diligently compared it with his own MS. Just about the time when Ussher was writing thus to De Dieu, another noted Orientalist, Edward Pococke, who had found in the Bodleian Library a MS. of the Syriac text of the Four Epistles I have mentioned, was completing at Oxford his edition of them, which he soon after entrusted to De Dieu, under whose superintendence it was published at Leyden in 1630. Thus the MS. sent by Davies to Ussher was not collated in time to serve as basis for the text of these Epistles or of the Apocalypse; and the only new biblical matter that remained for it to supply was the Syriac of the *Pericope de Adultera.* Accordingly, it appears that Ussher, shortly after the date of this letter, with a liberality that was characteristic of his generous nature, sent the MS. to De Dieu, who from it printed, in 1631, the *Pericope* in ques-

tion in his *Animadverss. in Quatuor Evangelia* (p. 443). De Dieu, in his note (*in loc.*) states (as mentioned above, p. 1) that he derives the passage from a MS. in Ussher's collection. He also describes the MS. as containing with it the Four Epistles and the Apocalypse; and in his Introduction more fully, as "exemplar MS. elegantissimo charactere Syro exaratum, *addito etiam beati Ephrem tractatu De Amore Sapientiæ.*" Not long after, in 1634, De Dieu published his *Animadvv. in Acta Apostolorum*, and in his dedication of it to Ussher renewed his acknowledgments for the favours he had received from him; the first being that he had presented him with a Samaritan Pentateuch (this was in 1629, at the time of the letter I have cited, 154); and the second, that he had, two years after (that is, in 1631), sent him a MS. containing "*omnia N. T. Syriaci quæ in prioribus deerant editionibus, et præterea prolixum Ephræmi De Amore Sapientiæ tractatum.*" Further benefactions are then mentioned, of which I shall have occasion to say something presently.

I have thus traced the history of the MS. sent by Davies in January 1626, until it reached De Dieu's hands, and was used by him, in 1631. That the MS. whence Walton derived the Syriac text of John vii. 53–viii. 11 for his Polyglott was the same, is certain; and since Tregelles first pointed it out no one has questioned it. Thus it appears distinctly that I have established one of the points which at the outset I undertook to prove—that the MS. referred to by Walton and De Dieu as the authority for this passage has been misdescribed. The statements I have collected—from Davies, who procured the MS., from Ussher its owner, and from De Dieu, who edited the only part of it that has been published—all concur in assuring us that it contained not the whole Syriac N. T., but only the six portions of it which were wanting from the Peshitto. But it is as a complete and continuous Syriac N. T. that it has been described by the modern writers who have supposed it to be missing, and desired its recovery. "De Dieu assures us (writes Dr. Scrivener, 3rd ed., p. 316) that the Ussher MS. contained *the whole* N. T., which no second copy of the Peshitto or any other Syriac version yet known has been found to do." Tregelles' description of it to the same effect, both in his *Introduction* and in the *Dictionary*, I have already referred to. In both places he gives as his authority the words of De Dieu's dedication which I have cited, "*omnia* N. T. Syriaci quæ deerant."

But in the latter work he betrays a misgiving as to the accuracy of this construction of De Dieu's words, by adding in a note the query, "Does this mean that it merely contained what was wanting previously, or the *whole* including such parts?" And he proceeds to adduce (but unfortunately from Todd's *Life of Walton*, vol. i., p. 194, not from either of the *Lives* of Ussher, where he would have found the solution of his doubt) Ussher's own description of his MS., in the letter (110) I have already cited, "I have received the parcels of the N. T. which hitherto we have wanted in that [Syriac] language." Here the word "parcels" obviously indicates a collection of separate portions, not a continuous whole: but Tregelles prefers to abide by his misinterpretation of the sentence, and to wrest it into meaning an entire N. T.,* on the ground that "it seems strange if this section of St. John stood alone." It will presently appear how much misapprehension is involved in these words: for the present it suffices to point out that they are refuted by the first page of the MS. actually before us, in which that section does "stand alone."

I assume then, as the result of the evidence adduced, that the MS.

* I may here state that no MS. of the whole N. T. in Syriac is now known to exist. The famous copy in the Cambridge University Library (Oo. I. 1, 2) gives the Peshitto complete, with the Four Minor Epistles subjoined in the ante-Harklensian version, but lacks the Apocalypse; as does also the recent important acquisition of the same Library (Add. 1700), which gives all the other N. T. books in the Harklensian version, and adds the First and (so-called) Second Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Catholic Epistles. The MS. No. 184 in the Library of the Seminary of Remonstrants, Amsterdam, of A. D. 1470, seems to have originally contained the N. T. *minus* the Apocalypse: but to the Four Epistles (which like Oo, I, 1, 2, it gives in the older version) it appends two attributed to the same Clement, *On Virginity*, which were published by Wetstein from this MS. in 1752. (See Bp. Lightfoot's *Clement of Rome*, pp. 15, 233; Beelen, *S. Clem. R. Epp. de Virginitate*, Prolegg., pp. x, xiii, xvii; and Wetstein, *Duæ Epp. S. Clem. R.*, Prolegg.). For this MS. see farther, note below, p. 313. Ridley's two MSS. (New Coll. Oxon. 333, 334) are described below, pp. 289, 304. I find only one record of the existence of a complete MS. Syriac N. T., as follows:—"Novum Testamentum Syriace, cum versione Latina, Andreæ de Leon Zamorensis, juxta ipsius verba in Ep. ad Mich. Le Jay, p. 139, *Antiquit. Eccl. Orient.* 'Novi Testamenti textum Syriacum Paulo V. tradidi correctum, Latine quoque redditum, cum Apocalypsi tribus [?] que Epistolis, et Historia Adulteræ, quæ desiderantur in Bibliis Regiis: Pontifex vero commisit hæc omnia Card. Bellarmino'" (Le Long, *Biblioth. Sacra* [Bœrner's ed., 1709], tom. I., p. 184).

sought for is one not of the whole Syriac N. T., but only of the six portions specified, viz., the section John vii. 53–viii. 11, the four minor Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. And without going farther, I might already fairly claim to have made out a strong case for identifying the Trinity College MS. before us as the missing MS. It contains exactly these six portions of the N. T., and no others. No second MS. answering the description is known to exist, or has ever been recorded as existing, in any British Library; nor I believe in any Library elsewhere—* certainly not in that of the University of Leyden. No writer on the Syriac N. T. has described any such MS. It was unique, so far as our information extends, as regards the combination of its contents, among the MSS. brought from the East up to and in Ussher's time: as in our own time the Trinity College MS. is in like manner unique among Syriac MSS. known to scholars. And if the combination of these six portions were arbitrary as well as unique, I might regard the identification as sufficiently proved, and close here. But the combination, as I have pointed out, so far from being arbitrary, rests on a very obvious ground of association. It must be admitted as not improbable that some other seventeenth-century scholar as well as Ussher may have sought and obtained a copy of the portions of the Syriac N. T. not given in the then printed editions. And it may be suggested that Ussher's MS. may have been lost in the many removals of his library between the years 1641, when it was in the siege of Drogheda, and 1661, in which year it became the property of Trinity College:† or, as Tregelles supposed, it may have been retained by De Dieu, and may now be lying hid somewhere in Holland. And the MS. before us may have been acquired by the College otherwise; *e.g.*, as one of the gifts of Provost Huntingdon in the latter years of the century (1683–92), who was a great Orientalist, and might have procured the MS. while he was British Chaplain at Aleppo, 1671–1682. But there are many considerations to be taken into account against such hypotheses. It is unreasonable to imagine a possible MS. acquired by some

* The nearest approach to it that I can find is the MS. noted XXXI. in the *Catalogus Biblioth. Reg.* (Paris, 1739). But though its contents otherwise agree with the description, the Apocalypse is not among them.

† *Journal of the Irish House of Commons*, May 31, 1661.

other collector and given to the College, when it is certain that a MS. exactly corresponding with that which the College actually possesses was in Ussher's collection. The list of Ussher's MSS. as made over to the College is not in existence, so far as I know; but the alphabetical Catalogue of MSS. written in 1688 mentions this MS. (as noted A. 4), and states its contents accurately. This is the earliest dated evidence of its existence in the Library; but a local Catalogue,* apparently older, mentions it likewise. Neither of these Catalogues marks it as Ussher's, nor does the MS. itself contain his signature or any notes identifiable as written by him. But *prima facie* the presumption is, that any MS. not expressly noted as having come into the College Library from some other quarter came from Ussher. And it is noteworthy that these earliest Catalogues associate with it (then A. 4), as standing on the same shelf A, three other MSS. (A. 5, A. 6, and A. 11), two of them immediately beside it—all of which are still in the Library: all exactly similar to it in form, size, paper, and every other respect; all written, as the very marked handwriting shows, by the same Syrian scribe; and all bearing the inscription "*Jacobi Armachani*" in the great Primate's autograph. I may here mention that it is recorded twice over as A. 4 in the printed list of Usserian MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin, in the *Catalogus MSS. Angliæ & Hiberniæ* (1697), but in such wise that Marsh deserves no blame for failing (see p. 269) to find it—first under *Ephraim*, then under *Historia* [Adulteræ]! Again, the Trinity College MS. is dated; and its date, November, 1625, as given in the colophon at the end of St. Jude, suits Ussher's MS. well, if we suppose it to have been, as it probably was, a transcript made to Davies' order, and newly completed when he sent it in January, 1626. But into the question of these dates I shall have to go more fully just now. The facts I have brought together so far, form a body of evidence whose cumulative force I believe it would be hard to resist, even if the six "parcels of the N. T." (as Davies and Ussher call them) were all we had to go on in claiming for the MS. before us that it is the identical copy procured by Davies for Ussher, and sent by Ussher to De Dieu. But farther: with those N. T. "parcels" there was forwarded by

* These Catalogues are D. 1. 6 and D. 1. 7 in the Catalogue of MSS., T. C. D. See also D. 1. 8.

Davies, as he twice states, a Tractate of Ephraim; which statement Ussher confirms. Whether it was separate or not when so forwarded does not appear; but it is certain that when the N. T. "parcels" reached De Dieu it was bound with them so as to form one book. His words as I have cited them make this plain; and also inform us that the tract was entitled "*On the Love of Wisdom.*" Now the MS. before us contains, and the Catalogues prove that at least as early as 1688 it contained, with the biblical matter already specified, a Tractate of the same author, bearing the same title, of which no other copy is anywhere recorded. In view of this fact the proof becomes irresistible. That after the arrival of Ussher's MS. in 1626 a second Syriac MS. should have been imported into Ireland before 1688, containing exactly the same six portions of Scripture, is, as I have admitted (however improbable), a tenable supposition, because a definite reason is assignable why those six portions should be associated. But that two MSS. so imported should agree in subjoining to those six portions the same tract of Ephraim—a tract which as it stands in the T. C. D. copy is unique, and moreover bears no imaginable relation to the biblical matter which precedes—is incredible. I conclude therefore with confidence that this T. C. D. MS., B. 5. 16, is no other than the MS. procured by Davies, possessed by Ussher, and used by De Dieu.

Further proof may well seem superfluous; yet it may be worth while to test this conclusion by comparing the text of the *Pericope de Adultera* as contained in this MS. with that printed by De Dieu from the MS. sent by Ussher. I find the two texts to agree *verbatim et literatim*—a fact of weight, for every other existing copy of this passage in Syriac varies more or less from the printed text, and they all vary *inter se*. This agreement extends even to the heading of the section, which is in the MS. as in De Dieu's text and Walton's, "The Lesson which is concerning the sinful woman, which is not in the Peshitto" (ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ.); and also to the words supplied at the end of the passage to join it on to the next verse (John viii. 12), "*When therefore they were assembled together*, Jesus spake, saying, I am the light of the world, *et cætera*" (ܗܘ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܠܗ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܒܗܝ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܢܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ . ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܫܘܪܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ). Again, the

vowel signs and diacritic points agree almost as perfectly as the consonants; and this is not a necessary agreement, for the writer of the MS., as is usual with Syrian scribes, inserts the vowels not uniformly, as in Hebrew, but at his discretion, only where they seemed needed to prevent mistake. There are little more than thirty vowels in the passage as it stands in the MS. The printed text inserts none which is not in the MS., and omits but three of those which the MS. inserts. Nor is this all. The writer of the MS. employs indifferently (according to the usual practice) the two equivalent sets of vowel signs, the Syriac (combinations of points), and the Greek (letters borrowed from the Greek alphabet). The printed text reproduces these faithfully—Greek letter for Greek letter, Syrian point for Syrian point. Now, inasmuch as the equivalence of these two forms of vocalization is absolute, so that the employment of this or that sign for any given vowel is in every case purely arbitrary, this coincidence of usage between the MS. and the printed text, complete and without exception as I find it to be, cannot be the result of chance, and would alone suffice to identify the MS. as the basis of De Dieu's text. Yet again, one contracted word only (ver. 7, ܕܐܝܬܘ̄) appears in the MS.; the same word and no other is found contracted on De Dieu's page. And finally, one clear mistake only is to be laid to the scribe's charge—the omission of a word from verse 11. This mistake is not indeed reproduced in the printed text, but it is sharply challenged by De Dieu, who corrects it by supplying between brackets the much-needed negative [ܠܐ] in the closing sentence, "Go and sin *no* more." These brackets are perpetuated in Walton's Polyglott, where they are a standing witness to the claim of our MS. to be the source of Walton's text as of De Dieu's before it. It is to be added that this MS. has the undesirable distinction (analogous to that possessed by the "wicked" Bible) of being the only one to omit this negative, which is duly given by the other Syriac copies of the passage. Were it otherwise, one might naturally conclude that the ground of the omission of this much-disputed narrative from the Syriac N. T. was a well-founded objection to the precept, as our MS. gives it, "*Go and sin more*"!

Such, then, are the results of the comparison of the written with the printed text. The internal evidence thus obtained is at least as convincing

as the external evidence already adduced. It is not too much to say, that even if this MS. came before us without a particle of the ample external attestation I have produced, we should be obliged to admit its identity with that from which De Dieu derived his text, as proved to demonstration.

I know of but two difficulties that remain in the way of this conclusion, now that the difficulty arising from the misdescription of Ussher's MS. has been removed. One, as I have said, has been raised by Tregelles. De Dieu, in his profuse acknowledgments of Ussher's benefits, appears to speak of the MS. as *given* by Ussher to him: and Tregelles accordingly writes, "The MS. itself had been sent as *a present* to De Dieu" (*Introd.*, p. 284; *Dict.*, p. 1636). But a careful reading of De Dieu's words dispels this misconception. He first expresses his gratitude for the *gift* of a Samaritan Pentateuch, and then for other favours which he clearly distinguishes from it as being *loans*. As regards the former, he describes himself as being "amplissimo *munere beatus*"; as regards the MS. containing the six N. T. portions and the Tractate of Ephraim, and many other MSS. which he enumerates, he uses the verbs "*mittere*," "*transmittere*," merely. It is unlikely on the face of it that even Ussher, generous as he was, would give away a MS. which he so highly prized, and whose contents were so rare, in part unique. In point of fact, while his letters show unbounded liberality in lending* even

* E. g., to Selden several books (letter 98); to Const. L'Empéreur (a stranger to him) his MS. of the *Horreum Mysteriorum* of Gregory Barhebræus (192, 196); to Arnold Boate, his MS. of the *Catena in Evangg.* of Dionysius Barsalibæus (215). The last was duly returned, and is now in T. C. D. Library (B. 2. 9): from it Dudley Loftus published in 1672 his *Exposition of Dionysius Syrus on St. Mark*, and in 1695 his similar volume on St. Matthew. It is evident that foreign scholars, even with no plea of personal acquaintance, freely applied to him for such loans in confident expectation of a favourable response. Much light is thrown by these letters, and others that follow them, on the generous character of Ussher, on his relations with contemporary men of learning in England and abroad, and on the arrangements for the interchange of letters and packets between England and foreign countries in his time. Thus, in 1632, we find him taking an opportunity of sending his Syriac Pentateuch to De Dieu by the hands of Frey, the travelling tutor of Viscount Dungarvan, eldest son of the Earl of Cork (then one of the Lords Justices of Ireland), who was at that time setting out from Dublin to make the "grand tour" (Letter 184: see also 189). Other like instances occur in the correspondence. More regular means of transmission, through Dutch merchants and their London and Dublin correspondents, are indicated in Letter 154.

to strangers whatever treasures his library contained, I find no instance of his giving away any MSS. except those of which (as of the Samaritan Pentateuch) he possessed duplicates.* Moreover, I have traced some of the other MSS. which De Dieu mentions as "sent" or "transmitted" to him by Ussher, and I can prove that they were returned to their owner. Three are stated by De Dieu to have contained selections from Ephraim Syrus: these are mentioned by Ussher also (Letter 188) as sent by him to De Dieu; and one at least of them is identified, by his enumeration of its contents, with a MS. which I have already mentioned (p. 276) as being now in T. C. D. Library and bearing Ussher's autograph, formerly catalogued as A. 11 (now B. 5. 19). Another is the Syriac Pentateuch, already mentioned as sent by Davies along with our MS.; and a third is a Syriac Psalter. Both these Ussher reclaims as *loans*, writing to De Dieu in 1637 (Letter 210), "*remittas* Pentateuchum Syriacum et Psalterium quæ olim tibi *commodavimus*." His intention then was to use them in printing the Old Testament in Syriac; but this he never carried out. He must, however, have got them back, for he lent them not long afterwards to Walton, who used them for the Syriac O. T. text of his Polyglott. They are now in the Bodleian (the Pentateuch being Bod. Or. 121, and the Psalter, Bod. Or. 51).† Indeed De Dieu himself, in the very page where Tregelles supposes him to speak of the MS. in question as a gift, proceeds to express himself in terms which proved that he regarded it and the rest as *lent:* exclaiming, "omnia hæc MSS. . . . te in tam dissitas oras, per tot pericula, ad peregrinum hominem, *dubius an unquam esses recepturus, transmisisse!*" And there is no reason to doubt that he returned it and all the other MSS. to Ussher, as I have shown him to have done in the three cases which I have traced.

The other difficulty I have to notice arises out of the dates. I have said that the former division of our MS. is dated November 1625; I have to add

* Or triplicates: thus he gave Cotton a third copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, retaining one which is now, I believe, in the Bodleian (Letter 143; see Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*, p. 107; and cf. *Cat. MSS. Angl. and Hib.*, p. 156). Again, of his three copies of the Arabic Psalter he gave one to Laud; another, which he lent to Bedwell, seems to have been lost (Letter 184).

† Walton, *Polyglott*, tom. I., Prolegg., p. 89: Payne Smith, *Catal.*, pp. 28, 52.

that the latter division is dated 1626 (no month). Now Davies' letter (102) states that he sent the MS. on or before 16th January 1625. So far all is consistent; for Davies no doubt followed the then English style, and his date is to be understood as 26th January 1626:* while the Syrian scribe (whom for the moment I assume to be a Maronite) would follow the Gregorian style (which was adopted in 1606 in the Maronite Church†), and reckon 1626 from 1st January. We have therefore only to suppose that the second division of the MS. was completed so early in January as to be ready to be placed in Davies' hands before the 26th.

But a doubt seems to be cast on this conclusion by a letter (90) which stands before this in Elrington's collection (as in Parr's), in which Davies inquires concerning the safe arrival of "the five books of Moses, with those parts of the N. T. which your Lordship writ for, . . . sent you *ten months ago.*" This letter is dated July 1625, the day of the month not being specified. If this were correct, the MS. referred to must have been sent in the autumn of 1624, and therefore could not be ours, neither part of which was completed (see p. 276) before November 1625. But it is quite certain that this letter is misplaced, and that its date has been either misprinted or wrongly supplied by Parr's conjecture. For as it was written ten months after the sending of the MSS. specified, it must be nearly ten months later than the letter (102) written, as we have seen, in January 1626, which speaks of them as then just sent. And a comparison of the other contents of these two letters gives a like result. In Letter 102 Davies gives as "the news from Bagdat," which city was then in the hands of the Persians, that its siege by the Turkish Vizier was then in its third month. In Letter 90 he speaks of the siege as at an end, and relates how the Vizier had been forced to raise it at the end of eight months, and after several marches and disasters, had fallen back on Aleppo, and proposed to winter there.‡ I infer, therefore,

* The internal evidence of the letter proves that this is so: for it speaks of a letter, in answer to one of September 1624, as "received 8th of *July past*," which must mean July 1625.

† By the Patriarch, Joseph II. (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* I., p. 558; quoting the *Chron.* of Steph. Edenensis).

‡ Cf. Rycault's *Hist. of the Turkish Empire* (1687), pp. 5, 6.

that this letter belongs to the autumn (probably October) of 1626. It is perhaps the letter "of the 20th October, per the ship *Rainbow*," mentioned in Davies' letter (388) of 13th March 162⅞. It is certainly prior, but not much prior, to Letter 116, written by Davies on the 14th November 1626 in reply to one in which Ussher, writing 31st July 1626, acknowledged the receipt of "the books sent by the ship *Patience*."

Thus the comparison of these letters, which at first sight seemed to cast a doubt on our MS., proves on examination to confirm the note of identity yielded by the dates. All the facts of the case fit in, when we assume that Ussher's MS. was a transcript made to Davies' order, in 1625 and the early days of 1626, and delivered to him by the scribe in time to be forwarded on the 26th of January of that year. The question is thus raised: Where was the MS. written? and the probability suggests itself that it was somewhere not very far from Aleppo. Now, three or four quarters are indicated in Davies' letters whence he hoped to procure MSS.: Jerusalem and Damascus, (but these, as it seems, for Samaritan MSS. only); Amid (Diarbekr) in Mesopotamia; and the Lebanon country. Amid seems too remote to be a probable source for our MS.,* and there remains therefore the Lebanon. This is the obvious quarter to look to for its origin, for the style of the writing seems to be Maronite. Besides, Davies' letters (see 71, 102, 90, 116, 388, 125) show that from 1624 he was for two or three years in active negotiation for MSS. with the Maronites of that region; and that there he procured the only other new transcript of any part of Scripture which he is known to have sent to Ussher—a copy of the Old Testament in Syriac, wanting only the Psalms. This copy was completed (Letter 125) on Davies' order, and forwarded more than two years after our MS., in 1628; its subsequent history is the same as that of the Syriac Pentateuch and Psalter I have already mentioned, and it is now with them in the Bodleian, bearing date 1627, and catalogued as Bod. Or. 151.† These facts suggested to me the idea that a comparison with this Bodleian MS. might lead to a

* Ussher seems (Letter 127) to speak of it as coming from Amid; but he is merely repeating the account given by Davies (102, 110), which really relates to the Pentateuch MS. only.

† Walton, *ut supra* (p. 280); Payne Smith, *Cat.* p. 280.

more definite conclusion with respect to the origin of ours. Accordingly I have taken the T. C. D. MS. to Oxford, and have placed the two side by side. The result is, as I anticipated, that ours proves to be written in the unmistakable hand of the scribe who wrote the earlier and greater part of the Bodleian O. T. In a colophon appended to the Book of Susanna he gives us all particulars of persons, place, and time, as follows, f. 334b: "Here ends this book by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year of Christ, 1627, in the month Thammuz [July], on the first day at the sixth hour, by the hands of a man sinful and vile, dust of the highways and dirt of the dunghill, the miserable Joseph, son of David, of the city beloved and blessed of Christ, Van of Mount Lebanon. It was written in the Monastery of Kenobin in the days of our venerable and blessed father Mar Peter, whose name is Mar John, Antiochian Patriarch. . . . ." This Joseph, then, was the scribe of both these MSS., and also of the other three in T. C. D. Library, which I have referred to (p. 276) as being in the same hand (B. 5.17, 18, 19; formerly A. 5, 6, 11). He is probably the person* whom Davies (Letter 90, cp. 116) "sent to Libanus to take a copy" of the "only one old copy of the O. T. extant" among the Syrians of those parts, which was "in the custody of the Patriarch of the Maronites, who hath his residence in Mount Libanus, which he may not part with on any terms; only there is liberty given to take copies thereof, which of a long time hath been promised me." In making this transcript of the O. T. he was assisted, as two entries in the MS. show (ff. 569b, 600b), by one Cyriacus, "Jacobite priest and monk," whose very different hand shows itself in a large part of the latter portion of it. The prelate named in Joseph's subscription is known as John XI. [Macluphius],† Maronite Patriarch 1609–1633; his other name, Peter, being that borne officially by all Patriarchs of this Church,‡ as that of

* The "minister of the sect of the Marranites, and by birth a Chaldean, but *no scholar*" (Letter 71), with whom Davies first tried to deal, seems to be a different person, and to have disappointed him (see 90).

† Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, tom. III., col. 68.

‡ *Ib.*, 46, 65. The designation *Antiochenus* was given by the See of Rome to these Patriarchs, beginning (as it seems) from the time when Hieremias II. attended the Fourth Lateran Council (1215); see Le Quien, *ib.* 6, 41, 50. Syriac writers trace the title back to the time of Joannes Maro, *circ.* 700 (Steph. Edenens. *ap.* Assem. *B. O.* I., pp. 496–503).

Ignatius by the Jacobite Patriarchs. The monastery of Kenobin (= Κοινόβιον) was founded by Theodosius in the fourth century; and has been the seat of these Patriarchs since the time of John X., who died there in 1445. It has been visited and described by many travellers, who are eloquent in their admiration of the sublime beauty of its rock-hewn site on the western slope of Lebanon. In its library, then, was the original MS. of the Syriac O. T. which the Patriarch was bound (no doubt by an anathema inscribed in it, such as is often found in Syriac MSS.) not to sell, though he permitted the copy now in the Bodleian to be made from it:—and with it, no doubt, the originals of those "parcels of the N. T." which the T. C. D. MS. contains; and probably the originals likewise of the Tractate of Ephraim, and other like matter, which are found in the other MSS. written by the same Joseph.* It may still retain these treasures, and others well worth looking after. Burckhardt indeed, writing in 1810, described it as being, when he visited it, empty of the books it once possessed: but Lord Lindsay (afterwards Earl of Crawford), twenty-seven years later, in 1837, saw several, both MSS. and printed, in the Church. He especially mentions one, a Syriac Bible (possibly the archetype of the Bodleian copy) kept apart in a chamber over the entrance gate, but so carelessly that, as he rode up, some leaves of it "flew out of the window and lighted at his feet."† Possibly it may not yet be too late for some explorer to rescue what remains of these treasures, if their present guardians should prove to be as open to negotiation as the monks of the Nitrian Monastery, whence so rich a

* Apparently it contained also a copy of part at least of the Syro-Hexaplar O. T. version of Paul of Tella; for to this Bodleian O. T. are appended 1 [3] Esdras and Tobit, both headed "according to the LXX." Of these, the latter has been shown by Dr. Ceriani (*Le Versione Siriache*, p. 22) to belong (in part) to that version, by comparison with the citations of Tobit, given by Andr. Masius (*Syrorum Pecul.*) from his lost Syro-Hexaplar MS. I have in like manner identified this 1 [3] Esdras as Syro-Hexaplar by means of one of the Nitrian MSS. of the British Museum (Add. 12168), a Catena which among other extracts expressly described as from the version of Paul, gives the following portions of 1 [3] Esdras:—ii. 1-16, 24, 25; iv. 38-40, 49-57; v. 47–vi. 2; vii. 6–viii. 29; viii. 69–73; viii. 93–ix. 10; ix. 46, 47—all of which agree with the text as first printed by Walton from Uss., *i. e.*, Bod. Or. 151.

† *Letters*, pp. 352, ff. (edition of 1858).

store of Syrian MSS. has within these last fifty years been acquired for the British Museum.*

I have thus traced the journeyings of our MS. from Kenobin on Mount Lebanon, by way of Aleppo, to Ireland, and thence to Leyden and back. It must have resumed its place among Ussher's books before his death, and have been seized with the rest by Cromwell, and deposited in Dublin Castle; and thence have been transferred, as part of that splendid collection, by order of the Irish House of Commons, May 1661, in the name of King Charles II., to its present and rightful abode in Trinity College. But an incidental question arises here, which needs a word in reply. Did our MS. ever come into Walton's hands? I am confident it did not. He refers to it, as I have said, for the *Pericope de Adultera*, but nowhere else. There is no trace of his using it for the text of the Epistles or of the Apocalypse: in fact the Syriac *variæ lectiones* of his Polyglott (tom. VI., iii.), as collected for him from MSS. by Thorndike, relate to the O. T. only; while for the N. T. he was content to follow printed texts, chiefly that of the Paris Polyglott (*ib.* p. 50). The text of this *Pericope* (unless Ussher sent him a transcript of it from the MS.) he probably derived from De Dieu's, with which it agrees *literatim*, even to the heading prefixed, and the bracketted [ܕ]. No change is made except that the vowels are fully supplied, so as to correspond with the full vocalization adopted throughout Walton's N. T. text. Had the MS. before us been lent, as Ussher's other three MSS. which I have specified were lent, to Walton, it would not be now in Trinity College Library. Those three MSS., with others, after Ussher's death in 1656, remained with Walton. After Walton's death in 1661 they were treated as his (whether by right of purchase or by mistake); and when Walton's collection was sold in 1683,† they (three at least of them) were purchased

* As an example of the reluctance of Syrian ecclesiastics to let the contents of their libraries be known, see the reply of the Maronite Patriarch, Stephen II. (Edenensis) to Huntington, in which, only fifty years after Davies obtained these transcripts for Ussher, he disclaims all knowledge of MSS. existing at Kenobin or elsewhere (*Life*, p. viii, prefixed to Smith's edition of Huntington's *Epistolæ*, 1704).

† Todd's *Life of Walton*, I. 160.

by the University of Oxford.* Thus it appears that Trinity College owes acknowledgments to De Dieu, not only directly, as the honest restorer of the MS. he borrowed, but also indirectly, as the means of keeping it from passing, as all the other MSS. of Ussher's collection which are cited in Walton's Polyglott have passed into the Bodleian.

I proceed now to give a detailed account of the composition of the MS., and of its contents:—

The sheets of paper (very thick, and smoothed so as to resemble parchment) of which it is made up are arranged in quires, mostly of five sheets, but occasionally of less. Thus, as the book now stands, its first quire has but four sheets, and likewise its last; while the first, or biblical, division of it ends with a half-quire of two sheets. The leaves bear no numbering, but the quires are numbered in the usual Syrian manner with Syriac letters, except two half-quires of inferior paper which have been inserted (apparently by the original Syrian binder) before and after the five quires which contain the Apocalypse. These five quires are numbered 1 to 5; while the quires which stand before them (containing the *Pericope* and the Four Epistles) are marked 6 and 7. It thus appears that the scribe originally arranged the seven quires which formed the *first* or biblical division of the MS., so that the Apocalypse should stand first, and that the *Pericope* with the Four Epistles should follow it. We cannot tell whether he had any precedent for disposing them in this order; for, as to these Epistles, the few Syriac MSS. which exhibit them as part of the N. T. place them variously; and as to the Apocalypse, we have, as will presently appear, no manuscript evidence at all of its place in the Syriac canon. But no doubt when he changed them into their present order he did so in order to adapt his work to the Western ideas of the purchaser. The rest of the book, *i. e.*, the *second* division of it, containing Ephraim's Tractate, consists of four quires, which are numbered separately 1 to 4. In both parts the headings of the books, and also the appended subscriptions, are written in vermilion. In the punctuation also vermilion is used throughout: two red spots placed colonwise, with a black

* Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*, pp. 107, 126, Cp. *Cat. MSS. Angl. and Hib.*, p. 156; Walton *Polygl.* I., pp. 77, 81; VI. iv. p. 1.

spot between, serving for a colon or period; while paragraphs are divided by the usual lozenge of four red spots surrounding a black mark, usually an irregularly circular ring. These lozenges are uniformly used throughout the text of Ephraim, and pretty regularly in the Apocalypse; but in the two preceding quires but two occur—one in the middle of 2 Peter, one at the end of Jude. In the *first* division the vowels also are mostly given in vermilion, but some also in black; the latter no doubt written with the letters, and the former supplied afterwards. These red vowels are very capriciously added or omitted; but on the whole they are most frequent in the early chapters of the Apocalypse, and rarer in later quires. In the *second* division they are not found at all; and the few vowels that are written are in black. The chief points, including *ribui*, are in black all through the MS. In the *first* division elaborate head-pieces in black and red are prefixed to the *Pericope* and to the Apocalypse, and a simpler one to 2 John: and a similar one stands at the beginning of the *second* division. The use of vermilion has proved unfortunate, for the pressure the book has undergone when last bound has transferred a good deal of the pigment from page to opposite page, in some places glueing the leaves together so as to injure the surfaces when they are separated. With this exception, the excellent handwriting of the scribe is as legible as when it first came from his pen. The other specimens of his handiwork in the T. C. D. collection are by no means so uniformly good; being in parts carelessly and roughly written with inferior ink on paper imperfectly smoothed. In one of them (B. 5, 19, formerly A. 11), which contains extracts from Ephraim, several leaves are written in another hand—I believe that of the Cyriacus who has signed the Bodleian O. T. MS. as his collaborator.* I am sorry to add that the disparaging epithets which, in the colophon cited at p. 283, "Joseph, son of David" so freely takes to himself, are proved by this MS. to be by no means unmerited. The MS. is made up as follows. First come nine short tractates of Ephraim, of which the ninth (ending a quire) is left incomplete, all in the writing of Joseph. Then follow two quires in the writing of his assistant, who had, as it appears, chanced to begin a copy of the same collection,

* I cannot affirm this positively, not having compared this MS. side by side with Bod. Or. 151.

for these quires simply repeat the Tractates which stand first and second, but are inserted as if they were new matter. And that this is no oversight, but done with design of utilizing them to swell the book, is evident, for they are continued in the hand of Joseph, and numbered continuously with the preceding quires. He then begins a new Tractate (the 10th, or as he numbers them, the 12th), breaks off abruptly in the second page, and so closes the volume; which Davies, being, as he tells us, unable to read Syriac, or to find any adviser who could read it, bought and sent to Ussher, in ignorance of the fraud practised on him. Two *marginalia* in Ussher's hand note this repetition of the first and second Tractates. I may here mention that for this and other similar Ephraim MSS. in T. C. D., and the Bodleian transcript of the whole O. T., and a MS. Syriac Grammar (also in T. C. D.), together with sundry Samaritan fragments, Davies appears to have paid on Ussher's behalf but £39 18s. (Letter 401; cp. 388, 125). I find no statement of the cost of our MS.; the only one priced separately is the O. T. transcript, the original estimate for which was £10 (Letter 71).

But to return to our MS. The *Pericope de Adultera* begins on the recto of the first leaf (as the quires now stand), and ends on the recto of the second. I have already mentioned how it is headed, and how terminated; and that De Dieu reproduces it faithfully in both points. Walton, though (as I have said) he retains the heading, rejects the modification of viii. 12 * with which it closes, and reads that verse as in the Peshitto and Greek—"Again then Jesus spake unto them, saying, . . ." The end of the passage is marked in the MS. by the usual ܣܠܩ (= *explicit*), prolonged across the page.

Our MS., though the first authority from whence this passage was made known as existing in Syriac, is not now the only one. Three others have since come to light.† Of these copies, much the earliest (*a*) is in the British Museum, written in a ninth-century hand on a leaf prefixed to a Peshitto MS. of the Gospels of the fifth or sixth century (Add. 14470). It is introduced by the following note:—"Yet another chapter from the

* This reading of viii. 12 is countenanced by two old Latin MSS.; b, which gives "*rursus autem congregatis illis*," and e, "*iterum autem cum convenissent*."

† For two other MSS. said to contain the *Pericope*, see pp. 274, 275, notes.* I know nothing further of either.

Gospel of John son of Zebedee. This σύνταξις is not found in all copies; but the Abbat Mar Paul found it in one of the Alexandrian copies, and translated it from Greek into Syriac, according as it is here written; from the Gospel of John, canon tenth, number of sections 96,* according to the translation of Thomas the Harklensian." It then starts from vii. 50 ("Nicodemus saith unto them . . . ."), giving it and the two following verses as in the Harklensian text, then proceeds with the disputed passage, beginning vii. 53, and ends with viii. 12, modified as in our MS. A note nearly the same, but abridged, is found in a Paris MS. (XXII., *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*) of the Harklensian Gospels, dated A. Gr. 1503 (*i. e.*, A. D. 1192, not 1202, as Adler wrongly states), which also contains the *Pericope;* appended to, but not inserted in, St. John's Gospel. This copy (*b*) begins with vii. 53, and ends with viii. 11, to which it subjoins the note. Adler has printed the whole, *Verss. Syrr.*, p. 57. In the third copy (*c*) the *Pericope* takes its place in the text of the Gospel: this is another Harklensian MS., known as Cod. Barsalibæi, now in the Library of New College, Oxford (No. 334), from which White has printed the *Pericope* as an appendix to his edition of the Harklensian Gospels (p. 559). In this MS., viii. 12 is given in its altered form. A marginal note states that "this συντυχιον is not found in all copies"; when the Greek word, evidently a blunder for σύνταξις, points to a common origin with the notes in the two MSS. last mentioned. Thus in these three MSS. the *Pericope* appears associated more or less directly with the Harklensian version. But of the four extant copies of the *Pericope*, one only (*c*) is exhibited *in loco* as part of the Gospel; while the others stand apart from any context: a fact which if known to Tregelles would have saved him from misapprehending the nature of Ussher's MS. so widely as we have seen he did. The variations among the four copies are about a dozen, none being material. In one verse (viii. 5) all four differ: and in more than one reading each of them stands alone. The British Museum copy has not been printed, but I have transcribed it carefully, and find, as its superior age might lead one to anticipate, that its text is the best. The Paris copy,

* A mistake for 86. The number of sections in the Harklensian St. John is the same as in the Greek, 232 (Adler, p. 63; Rosen-Forshall, *Catal.*, p. 27; Wright, *Catal.*, p. 75; Payne Smith, *Catal.*, pp. 85, 89).

which is the only one of the four I have not seen, is not very correctly printed by Adler, and seems, even after allowing for typographical errors, to be the least accurately written. The original of this version must have differed considerably from all existing Greek copies; keeping at first pretty close to the Textus Receptus, but approximating especially towards the end to that of Cod. Bezæ (D), which is the oldest extant Greek of the passage. It can hardly be doubted that the Abbat Mar Paul, who is stated to have found the passage in Greek and made this translation of it, was Paul of Tella, the translator of the LXX. into Syriac. No other Syrian Paul is recorded as a translator of Scripture, or as visiting Alexandria. He is known to have been there, engaged on his version of the O. T., in the same year, 616, in which Thomas of Harkel was similarly at work on the New, and actually under the same roof—of the Antonine monastery.* Both were Monophysite Bishops, seeking refuge there from troubles in Syria, together with Athanasius, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch. The versions of both are marked by the same servile manner of reproducing the Greek *verbatim*, at whatever sacrifice of Syriac idiom. Of this manner, the most conspicuous feature is the expression of the possessive pronoun as a separate word by means of the particle ܕܝܠܢ, instead of suffixing it, after the Semitic use, to the noun. In the passage before us a possessive pronoun occurs, in viii. 5, as read in three of the four copies, "Now in *our* law . . ." and they render it accordingly, in this separate form, ܕܝܠܢ. In Ussher's MS. this pronoun does not appear, perhaps correctly—certainly in conformity with the best Greek text;† but at the cost of losing this mark of the translator's hand. If we assume, then, that the London and Paris MSS. rightly name Paul as the translator of the *Pericope*—in other words, that the translation, though not made by Thomas of Harkel, was made by a contemporaneous and kindred hand—we have a fair explanation of the relation in which we find it placed with regard to the Harklensian version, associated *with* it, yet

* Cp. the Harklensian subscriptions (Adler, p. 45) with that of the Syro-Hexaplar MS., Add. 14437, in Wright's *Catal.*, p. 84); and see also Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Prof.*, t. I. fasc. i., *Prolegomena*, p. iii.

† There is, however, good authority for ἡμῶν, and better for ἡμῖν.

not usually as *of* it. Another and an earlier translator had, however, been previously suggested. Dr. Gloucester Ridley, the original owner of the Cod. Barsalibæi, in his account of that MS. (*De Verss. Syrr. Indole*, p. 17), asserts that the passage in question was translated by Maras, Bishop of Amid,* also a Monophysite, in 522. Marsh, in his edition of Michaelis (pp. 545, 580), following Ridley incorrectly, attributes the translation to Mar Aba,† a very different person. Tregelles (*Introd.*, p. 282) corrects Marsh's blunder, but strangely makes another as to date; printing in his text 622, and from this false datum drawing the true conclusion that Maras cannot have been the translator: while in his note he cites the figures accurately as given by Ridley, DXXII. And further it is to be observed that both Marsh and Tregelles err in understanding Ridley to say that a note in Cod. Barsalib. is his authority for ascribing the translation to Maras in 522. That MS. contains no such note;‡ and Ridley in thus specifying the writer and date is but giving his own opinion. Before the evidence pointing to Paul of Tella came to light, this view of Ridley's was a very defensible one; having apparent support from Assemani, who (*Bibl. Or.*, II., pp. 53, 61) in his summary of the *History* of Zacharias Rhetor,§ mentions a version of this passage cited by Zacharias from this Maras. But the *History* of Zacharias is now accessible, having been published by Land (*Anecdota Syr.*, III.) from an early MS. (*circ.* 600) now in the British Museum (Add. 17202, see f. 1446); and the version of the *Pericope* it exhibits (bk. VIII. 7) proves to be not only distinct from that before us, but to give a redaction of the narrative differing widely from any other known form of it, Greek or translated. It is, moreover, cited with the sectional number 89 (instead of 86), which places it not before John viii. 12, but after John viii. 20.‖ And, moreover,

* Consecrated 519–20; banished soon after; lived at Alexandria from 527 till his death, 540.

† A Nestorian; Catholicus, 537; died 552.

‡ I have myself inspected the MS.; and Mr. Margoliouth, Fellow of New College, who has kindly examined it further, confirms what I have above stated.

§ Bishop of Mitylene, 536.

‖ I have compared the text of this passage in Add. 17202 with another copy in Add. 17193, and with that given by Dionys. Barsalib., in his *Commentary on the Gospels*, as exhibited by the Abbé Martin (*Introd.*, *Partie Prat.*, IV. p. 231) from two MSS., one being Add. 7184 of British

it appears that the work of Maras which contained this passage was written in Greek, and that the Syriac is due to the Syrian translator and continuator of Zacharias (see Land, *ut supr.*, Introd.). There is thus no ground for regarding Maras as a translator at all, and the claim of Paul to be accepted as the translator of the *Pericope* stands unaffected by the existence of this other earlier Syriac form of the same passage.* A version of the *Pericope* distinct from both the above is contained in the Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary. It also is printed by Adler (p. 190), and seems to approach nearer than that of Ussher's MS. to the text of Cod. Bezæ.

Museum. They agree substantially; though with some variations which make the sense here and there somewhat uncertain. I append a translation:—

"And it came to pass on a certain day, as Jesus was teaching, they brought unto him a certain woman which was found with child of adultery, and informed him concerning her. And Jesus said unto them (for he knew, as God, their lusts of uncleanness and their doings), In the law what does it command? Then said they unto him, In the mouth of two or three witnesses she shall be stoned. But he answered and said unto them, According to the law indeed, one pure and free from these lusts of sin, and confidently and with authority (as being himself not guilty in this sin) bearing witness, let him bear witness against her and first cast a stone at her, and the next *likewise*, and let her be stoned. They then, because they were vile and guilty in this lust of transgression, went out one by one from before him and left the woman. And when they had gone forth, Jesus was gazing on the ground. And as he wrote on the dust thereof, he said unto her, Woman, these which brought thee hither, and were desirous to bear witness against thee, when they gave heed unto the things which I said unto them, which thou hast heard, have left thee and departed: Go thou also now, and do not this sin any more."

Zacharias prefaces the passage with this statement, that it belongs to John's Gospel, but is found in no other copy except that of Maras. All the above MSS. agree in referring it to "Canon (= section) 89." The relation pointed out by Ewald (*Die Johanneischen Schriften*, p. 271; see Bp. Lightfoot in *Contemp. Rev.*, vol. xxvi., p. 847) between this narrative and John viii. 15 is well brought out by thus subjoining it to verse 20. The reference to a *second* witness in the version of Maras makes a further point of contact with verse 17. It is worth mentioning that the *Synopsis*, wrongly attributed to Athanasius, which however is a careful if not very ancient compilation, places (ch. 50) the *Pericope* immediately before verse 21.

* It is remarkable that this is the recension of the story cited by Dionys. Barsalib. in his *Commentary* (see last p., note ||, also Assem. II., p. 53); though in the Cod. Barsalibæi, which purports to be corrected by him (Ridley, p. 50), the other recension is given. The latter is also the recension known to Gregory Barhebræus (Assem. II. 169).

Immediately after the final ܐܡܝܢ subjoined to the *Pericope*, on the recto of the second leaf of our MS., stands the heading of the first of the Four Minor Epistles, "Further we begin to write the Second Epistle of Peter (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܦܛܪܘܣ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܠܝܐ). It ends f. 8 v°, and is subscribed "Ends the Epistle of Peter the Apostle." Then comes a horizontal rope ornament, in red and black, across the page; and then the heading, "Second Epistle of John." The conclusion of this Epistle (f. 10 r°), and the beginning of the Third, are similarly denoted, "Ends the Second Epistle of John," and (without any break between) "Farther we write the Third Epistle of John." At foot of f. 11 r° this Epistle closes with "Ends the Third Epistle of John"; and at head of f. 11 v° we have "The Epistle of Jude brother of James." The final colophon is subjoined to Jude, f. 14 v°, being sixth of second quire, as follows: "Ends the Epistle of Jude the Apostle (his prayer [be] with us. Amen). And the completion of it was in Teshrin the latter [November], year 1625 of Christ" (ܐܝܠܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܫܠܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܒܬܫܪܝܢ ܐܚܪܝܐ ܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܫܬܡܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ). The remaining four leaves of the quire are left blank.

The text of these Epistles is the least valuable part of our MS. It does not vary materially from Pococke's. Notwithstanding some errors, chiefly of omission, it is rather more accurate than the latter, but its points of superiority are mostly corrections of obvious mistakes which Pococke had set right conjecturally in his notes. Pococke's MS. is still in the Bodleian (Bod. Or. 119). When he printed his text from it in 1630 he was aware (see his *Præf.*, and also De Dieu's *Præf.*, to Apocal.) that another copy had previously been in the hands of Etzel,* a learned Jesuit of Mayence, whose Latin version of these Epistles from this Syriac text is given by Nicolas Serarius, also a Jesuit of Mayence, in his *Commentt. in Epp. Canon.* (Mayence, 1612), pp. 53, 54. In his *Prolegomena Biblica* (p. 80, quæst. 1) Serarius states that this was a copy brought to Rome by Maronites, and that it contained the Apocalypse also. I find no record of it as now existing, nor can I learn whether Moses of Marden ever fulfilled his promise of bringing a copy of these portions with him on his second visit to Europe, as De Dieu

* See Possevin, *Apparatus.*, s. v. *Balthasar Etzel.*

(*Præf.*, as above) affirms he did. But it seems to me certain, judging by the amount of deviation from Pococke's text shown by that printed soon after (in 1633) in the Paris Polyglott (which Walton adopted without change), that Gabriel Sionita, the editor of the Paris Syriac text, did not merely reprint Pococke's, with conjectural emendations, as is usually stated, but based his text on an independent MS.* A comparison of the Paris text of its Latin version with the Latin of Etzel satisfies me that Sionita's MS. must have been also distinct from that used by Etzel. If this be so, Sionita's MS. may probably be in some French Library. Possibly it may be identical with the MS. which, as I have stated above (p. 274, n.*), is mentioned by Le Long, in connexion with the name of Le Jay the publisher of the Paris Polyglott, as having been sent to Bellarmine, and which is described as containing the whole N. T. in Syriac, including all the supplementary portions. However this may be, it appears that more than one of the Syriac MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contain these Epistles: and not a few † copies of them exist elsewhere. Of these, the most numerous and important belong to the Nitrian collection in the British Museum. Another, a valuable one, has recently been made known by Professor Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia; it is contained in the "Williams MS.," a copy of the N. T. wanting the Apocalypse; apparently of the fourteenth century. He has issued a beautiful photographic reproduction of the leaves which exhibit these Epistles, and their text is much better than that of Pococke's MS. I have collated with Pococke's text this of Ussher's, that of Williams', and three complete and two defective Nitrian copies; and have obtained from them ample materials for substantially amending the ordinary printed text.

* In this opinion I am confirmed by the judgment of Dr. Davidson. See his *Bibl. Criticism, N. T.*, p. 620 (edition 1854).

† Professor Hall (*Syrian Antilegomena*) says "six or seven," but this is an under-estimate. In British libraries alone there are not less than nine: in London six or more, Oxford one, Cambridge one, Dublin one. Professor Hall (in a paper quoted below) speaks of one MS. as being only a transcript from the Paris Polyglott. This seems very improbable. I do not know what MS. he refers to, but I venture to guess that it will prove to be the copy used by Gabriel Sionita; the original of the Paris text, not a copy from it. For the Amsterdam MS., formerly Wetstein's, see note * p. 274. Judging by the few specimens of its text given by Wetstein, it must be worth collating. (See farther, note at end, p. 318.)

One Nitrian MS. I would specially indicate, Add. 14623: it is much the earliest existing authority for the Syriac text of these Epistles, bearing date A. Gr. 1134 (= A. D. 823); and shows, as might be expected, the purest text. A text critically revised on such authorities is a real desideratum; not merely from the point of view of Syriac scholarship, but as an important contribution to the textual criticism of the Greek of this part of the New Testament. Dr. Scrivener (*Introd.* p. 646, n.[1]) justly characterizes this Syriac version as "well deserving careful study, . . . of great interest, and full of valuable readings." Where texts vary, it is found usually on the side of the oldest and best Greek MSS., and the instances in which it exhibits readings unsupported by good authority of MSS. or of versions, are not many. And I find that a text restored by means of the Nitrian and other early copies would approach still closer to the best Greek standard, and would be almost or altogether freed from the few anomalous or inferior readings which disfigure the text as printed. Professor Hall (*Journal of Soc. of Bibl. Lit. and Exegesis*, June–December, 1884, p. 42) has noted that one of these readings, ܒܥܠܡܐ ("in the *world*") for the similar ܒܥܡܐ ("in the *people*"), of 2 Peter ii. 1 is corrected in his MS.; the Nitrian MSS. agree here with his against Pococke's (which latter Ussher's follows). Another, of more importance, is worth mentioning. It is well known that in 2 Peter iii. 10, for the usual reading (of A and L, and of most cursives) "the world and all the works therein shall be *burnt up*" (*κατακαήσεται*), most of the uncials, headed by ℵ and B, give "shall be *found*" (*εὑρεθήσεται*); *i. e.*, as the margin of our Revised Version renders, "shall be discovered." Hitherto this Syriac version has been cited by all critics as almost the sole authority (the Sahidic version seems to be the only other) for a reading unknown to Greek MSS., which, by inserting a negative before the verb, yields "shall *not be found*"; i. e., "shall be no more seen." And it is true that Pococke's MS. exhibits the "not" (ܠܐ), as does Ussher's and one Nitrian (Add. 17226). But the earliest Nitrian MS., which as I have said is 700 or 800 years older than these, agrees with the best Greek text, giving "*shall be found*," without the negative; and in this I find Professor Hall's MS. supports it. The margin of the Harklensian (which I am about to show preserves the readings of this version) also gives "shall be found"; (the [ܠܐ]

of White's edition is his interpolation). It is easy to understand how a scribe, taking on himself the function of critic, inserted the "not" to make sense out of an obscure expression which seemed to him unmeaning. Nay, I have lighted on direct evidence of the making of this interpolation. One of the Nitrian copies I have referred to (Add. 14473) is an eleventh-century appendix to a very early Peshitto MS., and is written in a clumsy imitation of the old estrangelo character—presumably therefore a transcript from an ancient estrangelo original. In this copy (which is second in age among the copies I have seen) the ܠܐ does not appear in the estrangelo text, but is inserted, I believe by the scribe himself, in the ordinary character in the margin. It is not often that one can thus catch a scribe (*flagrante delicto*) in the very act of tampering with the text of his exemplar. Here I venture to digress, so far as to mention another confirmation which I have just observed of this difficult reading. In the discourse usually known as the 2nd Epistle of Clement of Rome, which though admittedly not the work of that Father, is certainly a second-century composition, there is what seems a free citation from 2 Peter iii. 10, 12 (combined with Malachi iv. 1) in ch. xvi. (being one of the chapters recently recovered by Bryennios). It is as follows: *τακήσονταί τινες τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ . . . ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος, καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ . . . ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* This passage seems clearly to prove not only that 2 Peter was read in the second century, but read (as the last verb indicates) with *εὑρεθήσεται* in the verse in question. The correction of this reading is the most important one I have arrived at from the study of the copies I have referred to. But there are many others worth attending to. An analysis of my results for the first chapter of 2 Peter will give a fair idea of their amount. In this chapter I observe twenty-five places (most, but not all, of them noticed in Tischendorf's eighth edition of the Greek Testament) where Pococke's edition appears to yield evidence bearing on the Greek text. In eleven of these instances the Syriac seems to have no good authority on its side. But in four of them the translator has mistaken the meaning, or has been misunderstood. Of the seven that remain, five are corrected and disappear by collation of the copies I have used; and two real misreadings only are left—the omission of *ἡμῖν* (ver. 3), and the insertion of *ὑμᾶς* (ver. 8). In all these five corrections I have the authority of

the oldest Nitrian MS.; in four of them it is supported by the second oldest; in three by Professor Hall's; in but one by Ussher's. Taking this chapter then as an average example, it may be calculated that the text is likely to be improved by aid of these MSS. to the extent of the removal of five-sevenths of the imperfections found in it as it stands in Pococke's edition.

The version being of so much value, it becomes matter of interest to inquire by whom and at what date it was made. Though we find in Syriac writers no express reply to these questions, we have, I think, the means of answering them conclusively. Several scholars (Dr. Davidson, I believe, most definitely; Professor Hall most recently) have conjectured that in this version of these Epistles we have a surviving remnant of the translation of the N. T. which is recorded* to have been made A. D. 508 for Philoxenus, Monophysite Bishop of Mabug, by his chorepiscopus Polycarp; which is not otherwise extant except in a few minute fragments preserved by Wiseman (*Hor. Syr.* p. 178). This suggestion may, as it seems to me, be advanced out of the region of probable guesses, well-nigh into that of demonstrated truths. The Harklensian version of the N. T. has a note † appended to it by the translator, Thomas of Harkel, in which he states that in it he used as its basis the Philoxenian version, correcting it by the aid of Greek MSS. which he had access to in Alexandria. Now on comparing the version now before us with the Harklensian version of the same four Epistles, it appears beyond doubt that the two versions are not independent of one another. Verse after verse they are substantially identical: the diction of each reflects that of the other: the chief words of one reappear in the other: we find in both not merely the same renderings, but (what is conclusive) the same misrenderings. So in 2 Peter i. 20, both versions (though varying slightly from one another) fall into the strange mistake of making ἐπιλύσεως a nominative. So again in Jude 6, both are misled by a false etymology to render ἀϊδίοις "unseen." And it is equally certain that of the two it is the Harklensian version that is founded on the version before us, and not *vice versa*. Where they agree substantially, as they mostly do, the Harklensian is simply the other version græcized, according to its

* Moyses of Aghel *ap.* Assem. II. p. 282. † Adler, p. 47; White, I. p. 561; &c.

habitual manner, by transpositions out of the Syriac into the Greek order; by insertions—as of the third personal pronouns in lieu of the definite article which the Syriac lacks; and by the characteristic separation of the possessive pronoun already noticed, which in the Harklensian is usual, whereas in the other version it is but occasional and serves for emphasis, or to represent ἴδιος in the Greek. Where they differ, they usually represent differing Greek texts: and in such cases the priority of the other version is attested by the critical apparatus attached to the Harklensian; for the readings of the former are frequently retained on the Harklensian margin, or stand marked with * in its text. So, *e.g.*, in the passage I have already dwelt on (2 Peter iii. 10) the Harklensian reads *κατακαήσεται*, but on its margin gives *εὑρεθήσεται*. It thus appears beyond doubt, on the internal evidence, that the Harklensian is simply a revision of the other version. But it is equally beyond doubt that the Harklensian version, on the evidence of its author, had for its basis the Philoxenian version of Polycarp, and no other. It follows, therefore, by necessary inference that the version before us, holding as it does to the Harklensian version the unique relation which the version of Polycarp is known to have held, is in fact the version of Polycarp; or, as it is usually described, the original or unrevised Philoxenian. This conclusion is an important one to bear in mind in the study of the Harklensian version, and of its marginalia and critical marks. It has been taken for granted by many that Thomas of Harkel retained the Philoxenian text, and added alternative readings derived from his Greek authorities on the margin: and there are many instances confirmatory of that supposition. But the comparison of the two versions in case of these Epistles yields many instances to the contrary, where the Philoxenian readings are relegated to the margin, and readings indicating a different Greek original replace them in the text. It appears to me probable that Thomas of Harkel formed his text by the exercise of his critical judgment, in selecting the readings he thought preferable, and not by mechanical rule; and that the margin accordingly registers neither (on one hand) the Philoxenian readings only, nor (on the other) new readings from Greek MSS. only; but merely those which he thought less probable than those he inserted in his text, yet worth recording. A still

more important result of the identification of the version before us as that of Polycarp, and of the comparison of the two versions, is this. We thus learn that in the opening of the sixth century a Syrian scholar, presumably in Mabug, the capital of Euphratensis, had within reach a Greek text closely akin to that of the best uncials now extant; and distinctly superior to that which another Syrian scholar, rather more than a century later, was able to find in Alexandria.*

I pass now to the third and largest part of the *first* or biblical division of our MS.—that which contains the Apocalypse, and consists, as I have stated, of five quires, numbered 1 to 5, though now placed after the quires already described, which are numbered 6 and 7. The first leaf of the first of these five quires is blank. The Apocalypse begins on the recto of the second leaf (being f. 24, if all the blank leaves are included in the numbering). This page is written, not as the former part, in lines of its full width, but in two columns, as are the two following pages, and also f. 52v° and f. 53r°. These lapses into the columnar arrangement probably show that the scribe was accustomed to write on paper of such size as to require to be divided into columns; and in point of fact the pages of the Bodleian O. T., which is from his hand, are so divided. The rest of the book is in lines of full-page width. The first column of the first page (f. 24r°) is headed thus: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, on the strength of the Holy Trinity, we begin to write the Revelation of John, which is *Abocalebsis*" (ܐܒܘܟܠܒܣܝܣ). Over this stands an ornamental head-piece in black and red, elaborate, but small, being of the width of the column, not of the page. Under it the scribe has written in minute characters (ܢܬܚܢܢ ܚܛܝܐ ܕܨܪ ܘܟܬܒ), "The sinner find mercy who painted and wrote [this]." So in the head-piece of another T. C. D. MS.

* A large fragment of a version of Isaiah, preserved in a Nitrian MS. (*circ.* 600) in the British Museum (Add. 17106), is on independent grounds considered to be probably part of this same original Philoxenian version. Its style agrees well with that of the version above treated of; and on comparing it with the same part of the Isaiah of the Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella (which, as before stated, is a version of the O. T., practically forming one work with the N. T. of Thomas of Harkel), we find exactly the same relations of agreement and variation between their renderings as have been above shown to exist between the two versions of the Four Epistles—an interesting confirmation of the result above arrived at.

from the same hand (B. 5, 19), we read the similar words (ܨܠܘ ܥܠ ܚܛܝܐ ܕܨܝܪ), "Pray for the sinner who painted [this]" introduced into the intervals of the pattern. The Book is divided into the same twenty-two chapters as in our Bibles, "chapter two" (ܦܨܠܐ ܕܒ), and so on, being written in red (in the text), except in case of the first and third chapters: and the address of each of the seven Epistles is written in red likewise (the first partly, the rest entirely). There is no peculiarity to be noted, with one important exception: that of the marginalia which appear in six places. The Book ends on f. 65r°, the third leaf of the fifth of the quires which it occupies; this is numbered 5, and is a half-quire of two sheets only, its last leaf being blank. The subscription is brief: "Ends: and to God [be] glory for ages" (ܫܠܡ ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ).

I take up first the questions which the peculiar numbering of the quires suggests at first sight. Why did the scribe originally set the Apocalypse first? What is its usual place in the Syriac N. T.? And here we are met by a fact which greatly enhances the value of this part of Ussher's MS.: the extreme rarity of MSS. of the Apocalypse in Syriac. In the last century Ridley (writing in 1761) could only name two; and neither Adler (the best informed Syriac scholar of his day) in 1789, nor J. D. Michaelis in 1788, was able to add to this meagre list. In our own day the Abbé Martin (*Introd. à la Critique du N. T.*, 1883) enters but one of these in his Table of Syriac N. T. MSS., at p. 132, and adds the other at p. 134. None of these scholars was aware of the existence of the MS. now before us. Of the two they knew one was of course the Leyden one, whence De Dieu first printed the text. The other is said to have been in the Library of S. Marco, in Florence, n° 724; and in 1784 Bandini sent Adler a transcript from it of Rev. i. 1, 2. The Leyden copy is still in the library of Leyden University (Cod. Heb. Scal. 18 *). Its colophon gives the scribe's name as "Caspar, from the land of the Indians." The colophon of a liturgical MS. from the hand of the same scribe (in the library of the Orphan House at Halle), describes him as from Malabar, and is dated at Rome, 1580. The Florentine copy is stated by Tregelles (*Introd.* p. 28) to have been written by the Caspar who wrote

* *Catal. Codd. Or. Biblioth. Acad. Lugd. Bat.* (1878), MMCCCXLV. See Note below, p. 314.

the Leyden MS. If this were so, its text would probably be practically the same as that printed by De Dieu, and therefore of little interest. But Le Long (*Biblioth. S.*, I. p. 191), on the authority of Montfaucon, describes it as written at Rome in 1581, by one Jacob, described as of Hesron (a Maronite therefore, for Hesron is in the Lebanon Patriarchate). It would thus be an independent authority; and there is therefore the more cause to regret that it is no longer forthcoming. Bernstein, writing in 1854 (*De Hharkl. N. T. Transl.*, p. 8), informs us that on visiting the library of S. Marco he could find no trace of it. The monk in charge supposed it to have been carried off by the French. It is not, however, recorded in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and must be set down as missing. Its loss, however unfortunate, is in no small measure compensated by the recovery of Ussher's, also (as I have shown) a Maronite copy, only forty-four years later than the missing Florentine one. Its inferiority of age to the Leyden copy is about the same; and on examination I find its text to be distinctly superior. When Ussher, in 1627, wrote of it to Selden (Letter 127), "The Syriac lately set out at Leyden may be much amended by my MS. copy," he was not misled by partiality for his own. And he showed his usual soundness of judgment in fixing on the Apocalypse as the most important item of the contents of our MS. It is the only part which he tells us he himself studied —writing to De Dieu (Letter 154 (on 1st October, 1629, "Ex Apocalypsi tua *quam cum Ms° meo diligenter contuli. . .*" No notes of his collation, however, are known to exist; nor have we any record of use made of it by De Dieu (so far as I can ascertain), though it was in his hands, as we have seen, for some years. In the Paris Polyglott the Apocalypse in Syriac was printed for the second time, but with so many corrections of text as to satisfy me that its editor must have had a MS. of his own, and that he was thus as independent here of De Dieu as I have already said I believe him to have been of Pococke in the text of the four Epistles. His MS., however, if he had one, is not forthcoming; nor (as I have said, pp. 274, 293) have I found any record of the fate of the MSS. reported to have contained the Apocalypse, which are associated with the names of Moses of Marden, Etzel, and Bellarmine. Thus it appears that the number of available MSS. of the Syriac text of this Book, which was *two* a hundred years ago, after being

reduced to one by the loss of the Florence copy, is now raised again to two by the recovery of Ussher's. This result, however, is subject to an important modification. I pass by the collection of extracts from this book in Syriac in the Bodleian (Thurston 13), because it extends only so far as chap. xvii., and is even more recent than Ussher's (1628). But I have to mention that among the Nitrian MSS. of the British Museum there is one (Add. 17127), written A. D. 1088, which contains an elaborate commentary on the Apocalypse, embodying apparently all, or nearly all, the text. I have not learned that anyone has as yet performed the laborious task of putting together the pieces of the text, which would be a matter of much time and patience. I have spent some hours over it, and in the few chapters I have examined here and there I have found it complete, and agreeing substantially with the printed text. If, then, we may assume that this MS. will yield a full text of the Book, we have the total number of available copies raised to three, the last-named copy having the great advantage of being 500 years older than the elder of the other two. But we are no nearer than before to ascertaining how the Syrians placed the Apocalypse in their N. T. For in this Nitrian copy it stands alone, as in that of Leyden, and as (according to Le Long) it stood in that of Florence.* Ussher's is thus the only one in which it is associated with any other N. T. book. In the description (above, p. 274, n.) of the contents of the MS. sent to Bellarmine by Paul V., the Apocalypse is named before the Four Epistles. This is perhaps accidental, but it may possibly imply that such was the order in that MS. And thus the volume out of which the scribe employed by Davies copied the "N. T. parcels" of Ussher's MS. (if, indeed, we are to suppose them to have been derived from any one such volume), may have presented them in the like order; the Apocalypse following first after the books recognized by the Peshitto canon, and then the disputed Pericope and the four Epistles classed as Antilegomena, subjoined as an appendix. But it seems more likely that the priority given to the Apocalypse was casual, or determined by its greater length only; and that the exemplar whence the scribe copied it was a several volume, separate from that whence he derived the four

* The Abbé Martin (l. l.) regards this Florence MS. as a complete N. T.; but this seems to be a misapprehension.

Epistles; possibly, like the Leyden copy, containing the Apocalypse alone. The Apocalypse, as it stands in Ussher's MS., contains three more or less distinct series of evidences that the original which it reproduces was of different character from the original of the Four Epistles which are bound up with it. The first is the *punctuation:* but on this I do not lay stress. For though it is observable, as I have said, that the lozenges, which in the Apocalypse mark all the larger divisions, occur but twice in the four Epistles; yet this may be accounted for by the shortness of the Epistles, rendering such divisions less necessary. But the second is more significant—the *capitulation.* The division of the Apocalypse into the usual Western twenty-two chapters, while 2 Peter is divided only once, at the 9th verse of chap. ii., where a Syrian lesson began, leads us to conclude that the immediate exemplar of the Apocalypse of our MS. was one which had, while that of the Four Epistles was one which had not, come under Western influences. The third is the *marginal notation.* No notes are found on the margin of the Epistles; six stand on that of the Apocalypse; all within the first 34 of its 83 pages—a fact which suggests that the exemplar would have supplied more had the scribe's industry not abated as he went on. At least it had some marginal notes; and therefore was presumably detached from, and unlike, the exemplar of the Epistles, which (in this MS., and usually) are not furnished with any marginalia.

But a more interesting question than this of the immediate derivation of the text lies behind—that, namely, of the authorship of the version. When the existence of the Apocalypse in Syriac was first made known, the suspicion was thrown out that the version was a recent one, made by Maronite scholars. De Dieu (*Præf. in Apoc.*) sufficiently refutes this surmise, by pointing out that the Greek text underlying the version as he published it often widely differs from that printed under Papal authority, or that implied by the Vulgate, such as the Maronites, being entirely under Romish control, would certainly have followed. But since the Nitrian MS. (Add. 17127) above described has come to light the antiquity of the version is vindicated, inasmuch as it is thus directly demonstrated to have been in currency over 800 years ago. However, no Syrian authority on the subject of the version of the Bible has named the translator of the Apocalypse;

and we have only the negative fact, admitted by all, that this Book was not in the Peshitto, while we are not informed whether either of the later versions contained it. Yet when we read that Polycarp in 508, and Thomas in 616, translated the N. T., we may fairly presume that the statement includes the Apocalypse—especially as in case of Thomas we know, and in case of Polycarp have seen good reason to believe, that it does include the Four Epistles which are associated with the Apocalypse as being omitted from the Peshitto. One external testimony only has been adduced in the matter: it is that of Jacob of Hesron, the scribe of the Florence MS., who, as it is stated, cited in his colophon a subscription from his exemplar, professing to be written by Thomas of Harkel and to claim the version as his. Against this is to be set the negative evidence of the recently acquired Cambridge MS. (Add. 1700), which contains the N. T. in the Harklensian version, omitting only the Apocalypse. Unfortunately, the only other MS. of the Harklensian N. T. which seems ever to have been complete (another of Ridley's, in New Coll. Library, No. 333) is mutilated at the end, so that it is uncertain whether the Apocalypse ever formed part of it. But though we are thus unable to verify the statement of the scribe, it must be admitted that the internal evidence of the Syriac text gives it much probability. After the Harklensian manner, it græcizes: it forces words out of the Syriac into the Greek order, uses the third personal pronoun to represent the Greek article, separates the possessive pronoun as in Greek, and often adopts Greek words, merely transliterating them into Syriac (as θρόνος, φιάλη, ἄψινθος, and the names of the precious stones throughout, &c.). I incline therefore to the opinion, advanced in the last century by Ridley and by Storr, and recently adopted by Davidson, that this Syriac Apocalypse belongs to the Harklensian N. T. Adler, followed by Marsh, and of late by Tregelles, has controverted this view (p. 78). His arguments are far from convincing, and in brief come to this, that some of the peculiarities of Thomas's method of rendering do not appear in this book so uniformly as in the books known to be rendered by him. We may grant all this, and yet refuse to admit it as conclusive against the opinion that the version was made by Thomas; for he may well be supposed to have relaxed somewhat of the rigidity of his very artificial manner as he

drew near the close of his long work. But in some points Adler has overstated his case against the Harklensian authorship of the version. One Harklensian characteristic which he instances as infrequent in the Syriac Apocalypse, the adoption of Greek words, is, as I have shown, largely found in it; another, the writing of proper names in the Greek form, is a matter in which the usage of transcribers even of acknowledged Harklensian texts is found to vary. Of deviation in this Book from the close reproduction of the Greek which Thomas affected, he adduces but two definite examples; and these both break down when examined. The translator, he says, (*a*) omits the explanatory words, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, which follow τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, in i. 8; whereas Thomas never fails to translate such words: and (*b*) in i. 9 he neglects to represent the συν- of συγκοινωνός; while in the other N. T. places where the word occurs (but three in all) Thomas resolves it into two words, so as to express the compound. But (*a*) the Greek text which the translator had before him probably omitted ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος from the former verse, as our Revised Version does, with the majority of the best authorities: and (*b*) in the latter verse it may well have read the simple κοινωνὸς, as many (though not most) Greek cursives do. Probably the Florence MS., if it could be recovered, would yield information bearing on this question of the Harklensian authorship of our version; if one may judge by the two verses (i. 1 and 2) which are all we now have of it, already mentioned as printed by Adler from Bandini's transcript. They contain a token of Harklensian workmanship which Adler failed to perceive. In the Harklensian text, as is well known, asterisks are attached to certain words, usually to denote insertions into the text, sometimes to refer to Greek words written in the margin. Now, in the second verse as given in the Florence text, in the words ὅσα εἶδεν, the ὅσα is resolved into two words (ܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ), and to the second word (ܗܠܝܢ), which is pleonastic, an asterisk is attached, which does not appear in the Leyden text, nor in Ussher's. But it is noteworthy that, whereas the asteriscised word is omitted from the Leyden text, I find it inserted in Ussher's. Thomas of Harkel's rendering of this word ὅσος varies; but when I point out that a similar pleonastic rendering of ὅσα is found in the Harklensian version of the ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ of Philipp. iv. 8, with an asterisk similarly attached to

refer to the Greek ὅσα which is written in the margin, it will be seen that the asterisk of the Florence MS. at i. 2 probably indicates that ὅσα was on its margin or that of its exemplar, but dropped out in transcription. And thus this asterisk, trivial as it may seem, becomes a significant piece of evidence. (See farther, below, p. 314).

I now proceed to the testimony of Ussher's MS. on this question, which I can show to be ampler and more distinct on the same side. It is derived from the marginal notes, six in number, which I have mentioned as peculiar to this part of the MS. Among the earliest are two notes on the names of Ephesus and Smyrna, the first two Churches addressed. In the first, Ephesus is styled "the assembly of the Apostles" (ܐܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܗܝ). In the second, Smyrna is explained "bitterness," and is styled "the heap of the witness" (or, "the tomb of the martyr," ܩܒܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܣܡܘܪܢܐ ܗܝ). The presumption is, that in the exemplar whence these notes were derived, like notes were attached to the names of the remaining five Churches. Notes of the same nature are found on the Harklensian margin. So at Acts xii. 13 the name of Rhoda is explained ܩܠܐ ܕܫܘܠܡܐ. And at Acts x. 1 the name of Cornelius has an interpretation appended which I do not quote for its philological value, ܩܪܢܠܝܘܣ ܒܪ ܫܡܫܐ, *i. e.*, "the pupil of the sun," as if κόρην + ἥλιος! Again, the note at 1 Pet. iii. 3, where χρυσία is explained "various jewels" (ܫܘܢܝܐ ܕܫܘܢܝܐ ܫܘܢܝܐ ܗܝ), and that at 2 Pet. i. 13, interpreting σκήνωμα to mean "body" (ܦܓܪܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܗܝ), are precisely analogous to those on the churches named Rev. ii. 1, 8. Of the rest of the marginalia I pass over two as possibly mere scribe's corrections; but the two which remain are noticeable as indicating the translator's knowledge of various readings of the Greek. One is at ii. 25, where for the ܐܬܐ ("I *come*") of the text, he offers on his margin the alternative ܐܦܬܚ ("I *open*"), showing that he was aware of the reading ἀνοίξω (for ἂν ἥξω), which is found in one uncial (B) and many cursive Greek texts. The remaining one is at ix. 19, where the Received Text reads ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν only, omitting καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν, which the best MSS. add. The Syriac as given in the Leyden MS. renders these words. Ussher's omits them, but inserts them in the margin; thus apparently preserving evidence that the translator had both readings before him.

The result then is, that the margin of our MS. adds appreciably to the evidence, already considerable, in favour of the opinion that this translation of the Apocalypse into Syriac was made by Thomas of Harkel. If it was his (I may here observe), the question of the place of the Apocalypse in the Syriac N. T. is settled so far as his authority can settle it. For in the New Coll. MS. (333), for the Apocalypse no place is left but the last, and it can hardly have stood anywhere in the archetype of the Cambridge MS. (Add. 1700) but at the end; else that MS. would not have left it out. One argument has been advanced against his authorship to which little weight is due—that, namely, which rests on the alleged inferiority of the translation of this book in comparison with the recognized work of Thomas. For generally no translator is always equal to himself, and in the course of a long work, especially towards the end, weariness will admit errors. And in particular such errors are naturally to be expected in the version (by whatever translator made) of a book in which the guidance of the Peshitto was wanting. How capable Thomas was of blundering under such circumstances appears from the two instances I have already adduced from the Four Epistles (2 Pet. i. 20; Jude 6), where, in the absence of the Peshitto, he has allowed himself to be misled into following Polycarp's mistakes; though, in case of the word *ἀΐδιος*, he had translated it correctly in the only other place where it occurs in the N. T., Rom. i. 20. The fact is, I suspect, that this version has been unduly discredited by one mistranslation which disfigures it, so signal that every writer on the subject mentions it, and so ludicrous that no one who has ever heard of it can forget it. In viii. 13, the words *ἀετοῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι* are rendered "an eagle flying in the midst which had a tail of blood"! (ܕܦܪܚ ܒܡܨܥܬܐ ܕܕܘܢܒܐ ܕܕܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ). This blunder, amazing as it seems, is easily explained. The word *μεσουράνημα*, not previously found in the N. T. (though it occurs in two subsequent places of the Apocalypse), was strange to the translator, and it resolved itself in his eyes into three, *μέσῳ*, *οὐράν*, *ἤματι* (which last he read as *αἵματι*). The rest he supplied, with the unhappy result as it stands.* In xiv. 6, where the word is next met with, in the sentence *ἄγγε-*

* As if to show that a deeper depth of absurdity was not unattainable, De Dieu has

λον πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι, ἔχοντα εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον, it seems to have struck the translator that the tail, which in the former passage he naturally assigned to the eagle, would not suit the angel: and accordingly he drops it, reads οὐραν as οὐρανῷ, but retains αἵματι, rendering, "an angel flying in heaven, having *in blood* the everlasting Gospel." It is extraordinary that at xix. 17, where the word appears for the last time, he renders τοῖς ὀρνέοις τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσουρανήματι quite correctly. To have made so huge a blunder, then by degrees to have found it out, and yet not to have turned back and corrected it, undoubtedly shows a strong case against our translator of ignorance at first and carelessness afterwards. But it is worth while to point out how this extreme instance illustrates the quantity of information derivable from a translation that strives to be faithful, even though it bears here and there marks of ignorance or carelessness. (1°) As to the *nationality* of the translator. I infer that Thomas was a Syrian trying to translate Greek, and not a Greek trying to write Syriac; for the utter unconsciousness of case-endings apparent in this blunder bespeaks a writer born to the use of a Semitic tongue to which case-endings were unknown. The misrendering of ἐπιλύσεως (2 Pet. i. 20) gives ground for a like inference, extending to Polycarp. (2°) As to his *identification*. I consider that this misrendering, so far from being an argument against ascribing this version to Thomas, goes the other way. The instances I have given show what enormities in the shape of Greek Thomas was capable of; and I submit that the man who made αἵματι out of the last three syllables of μεσουρανήματι may well be the same as he who read ἥλιος in the last three syllables of Κορνήλιος—to say nothing of the analogy between the pendent accusatives, οὐρὰν in the one case, and κόρην in the other. (3°) As to the *Greek text*. I remark that if he had rendered μεσουρανήματι correctly in viii. 13, we should have missed two facts which we gather from his mistakes. For, *first*, by finding "a tail" in the middle of the word, he shows that he was unaware of the reading ἄγγελος (for ἀετὸς), which is that of the Authorized (though not of the Revised) Version, after the Received

mistranslated this mistranslation, thus, "*In medio cauda quæ sanguinem habet.*" The Paris Polyglott, followed by Walton, corrects this.

Text and many cursives. And, *secondly*, by reading the end of the word as *αἵματι*, he testifies that his Greek MS. wrote *μεσουρανήματι*, and not in the alternative form, *μεσουρανίσματι*. (4°) In another way, I have found this same blunder of use in giving a ready answer to a question which might else have been hard to solve. In examining the MS. Syriac Commentary on the Apocalypse which I have mentioned, I became curious to ascertain whether it was the work of a Syrian divine, or a translation from a Greek one; when it occurred to me that the note on viii. 13 would serve as a test. I found it to run as follows:—"*An eagle which flew in heaven, which had a tail of blood.* Here he teaches, in saying that he had a tail of blood, that the God who spake with Moses, and went before the sons of Israel by night in a pillar of fire, and by day in a cloud—even he, though he was God, in the latter times came as flesh, and was killed and died for our salvation. Because of this John saith that he had a tail of blood." My question was answered. It was clear that the author of this comment knew the Apocalypse only in Syriac.

But I do not by any means imply that the value of this version lies merely or mainly in the facts which may thus be indirectly inferred from its aberrations. Its mistakes are far from numerous, and the one I have instanced is anything but a fair sample of the entire work. On the whole, it renders its sublime original correctly and with dignity: indeed there are parts of it where the revelations made to the Apocalyptist seem to find happier utterance in the Syriac than in the Greek in which he wrote them down. Every reader of the opening salutation must have felt how the Greek language labours and breaks down under the strain put upon it when charged with the enunciation of His eternal Being from whom the greeting comes, *ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*. In the Syriac (as in our English) the happy lack of inflexions clears away the solecisms that mar the Greek phrase, and the thought, as St. John conceived it, discloses itself in worthier expression when read back into the congenial diction of an idiom closely akin to the native speech in which it first shaped itself into words within his spirit—ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ.

The importance of this version for critical purposes is not slight. In several passages it yields such decisive evidence of the readings of the MS.

which was its original, as to be a considerable accession to the authorities, not very abundant, for the Greek text of this part of the N. T. Accordingly it has been largely used by Tischendorf and others who have laboured in the field of textual criticism: and in order to bring out its evidence in a more correct and distinct shape, I believe it will be well worth while to make that complete comparison of our MS. with De Dieu's text which Ussher indicated 250 years ago as a work that ought to be done. The British Museum copy also awaits, and (considering its much higher date) is still more likely to repay, thorough collation. Possibly the Florence MS. may some day be recovered, and other missing copies may turn up, or copies hitherto unrecorded may be acquired in the East. Thus an approximately perfect text of the version may ultimately be restored, and the question of its authorship finally settled. Meantime, as a first step towards these results, I have made some progress in a collation of this MS.

In all that I have thus far written, I have assumed that this Syriac Apocalypse is not part of the same version as that to which the Four Epistles associated with it in our MS. belong; for on that head the internal evidence is conclusive. Its method is quite distinct from theirs, and is unquestionably Harklensian; insomuch that the critics who refuse to admit it to be the work of Thomas ascribe it to a translator who tried to imitate his manner. The question however remains—Did the translator (whether Thomas or another) translate directly from the Greek, or did he work, as Thomas is known to have done in all his recognized translations, on the lines of a version made a century before by Polycarp for Philoxenus? I find only two pieces of evidence adducible towards solving this question. The first is a copy in Syriac of the passage Rev. vii. 1–8, contained in another Nitrian MS. in the British Museum (Add. 17193, f. 146), of A. D. 874, resembling, but not identical with, the rendering of the same passage given in the version as printed; which latter varies from it in much the same manner and degree as the Harklensian text of the Four Epistles varies from that which I have discussed above. The second is a like extract from Rev. xvii. (3–6), found in a Syriac catena on Genesis which is printed among the works of Ephraim Syrus (Roman ed., tom. I. (Syr.), pp. 116 ff.: see p. 192), but is known to consist in part of selections from the writings of Jacob of

Edessa (*circ.* 700). In this passage the variations from the printed version are on the whole similar in kind to those that are found in the former one; but they are more considerable in amount, and include (within four verses) evidence of two various readings of the Greek. Both passages thus lend themselves very well to the hypothesis that they may be fragments of a lost version by Polycarp, used as a basis by the author of the existing version. But, as regards the second passage, it may well have been rendered by Jacob of Edessa himself, who is known to have been a translator of Scripture (though we are not informed that he translated any part of the *New* Testament). And we have no proof, as regards either passage, that it ever formed part of a complete translation of the Book to which it belongs. Both may have been translated merely as detached extracts; and it would be unsafe to build on either, or both, an hypothesis of a version by Polycarp, or anyone else, preceding and underlying the version before us. If conclusive proof of the existence of such a version should hereafter come to light, it will in some measure modify the evidential results obtainable from the existing version. So long as we accept this version as the work of Thomas, or an assistant or disciple of his, we must estimate it for purposes of Greek textual criticism as simply equivalent to a Greek MS. which was in repute in Alexandria at the beginning of the seventh century. But if we discover that he based it on a previous version, its proper and direct evidence becomes mixed with that which it repeats at second-hand from another MS. of a different place and of an earlier date.

I have now completed my account of the *first* or biblical division of the MS., and have left myself room for but a brief survey of the *second*, of which indeed I have as yet been able to make but a superficial examination. It is separated from the former division by a blank half-quire, similar to that which separates the Apocalypse from the Epistles, and it is made up of four quires, numbered 1 to 4, the last being of four sheets only, the others of five. Of the thirty-eight leaves it thus contains, the first only is blank; the rest are occupied with the Tractate of Ephraim, which is the whole of its contents. At the top of the second leaf of the first quire stands a headpiece in black and red, resembling in design that which is at the beginning of the *Pericope de Adultera*. Then comes the heading, "In the name of God

that liveth for ever, we begin to write a little from the tractates of our father, honoured and blessed, Mar Ephraim, concerning the Love of Wisdom and Knowledge (ܡܝܠܬܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܐܠܦ). And there are twenty-two sayings. The first, in which is the letter Olaph." Then follows accordingly the first of these "sayings," or sections, beginning with ܐ; and then the rest in order, twenty-two in all, after the number of the Semitic alphabet, each beginning with its letter (as in Ps. cxix.). Each, moreover, consists of twenty-two verses, having a like alphabetical arrangement (as in Lamentations), the first beginning from ܐ and ending with ܠ, the second from ܒ and ending with ܐ, and so on; till the last, beginning with ܠ, ends with ܬ. The colophon is simply "Ends; and to Jah [be] δόξα. Year 1626." (ܡܛܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܕܝܗ ܕܗܘ ܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܫܬܬ.)

Similar alphabetical compositions are frequent among the writings of Ephraim; but I have not met with any other arranged exactly after the elaborate fashion of this. This copy of it is, so far as I know, unique; and I find no trace of it in the great Roman edition of Ephraim, or in any collection of his works, Syriac or translated, to which I have had access. A much shorter Tractate, also alphabetical, with a similar title, *On the Love of Learning* (ܡܝܠܬܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܕܝܕܥܬܐ), is well known; it was by order of Pope Gregory XIII. printed for distribution among the Maronite youth. A Latin version of it is included in Gerard Voss's Latin edition of Ephraim (1603), p. 267; and the Syriac text is given in the Roman edition (tom. II. (Syr.) p. 336), where it is printed among the *Sermones Exegetici*, with the text Prov. v. 1. A copy of it is among the *Homilies* of Ephraim in another T.C.D. MS. (B. 5. 19), which I have mentioned above (p. 280) as described by Ussher in a letter (188) to De Dieu in 1633, and as bearing his autograph signature. But this composition contains but forty-four verses, two for each letter, and is thus much shorter than the Tractate in the MS. now before us, from which it is quite distinct. Ussher had read it; for in this letter he notices that it is one of those included in Voss's version, and adds that Isaac Sciadrensis had printed it in Syriac at Rome in 1618, but had failed to observe its alphabetic structure; having displaced the first word so as to make the first verse begin with ܐܠܗܐ instead of ܐܠܗܝ. The first line is (ܐܠܗܐ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܕܝܕܥܬܐ), "O God, bestow learning on him

that loves learning." It is thus of the nature of a prayer or hymn. The Tractate in the present MS. is rather a hortatory treatise, following the manner and often adopting the words of the Book of Proverbs; which Ephraim imitated also in his tractates Κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Παροιμίων, extant in Greek, and printed in the Roman edition, tom. I. (Gr.), p. 70. Its opening is:—

"I. 1. O thou that desirest to be made wise, pray that thou mayst hear; and in thy understanding fix my sayings with my interpretations.

"2. With all thy possessions and with all thy goods, buy my instructions; which are very sweet, and make thee wise and make thee glad."

It closes as follows (cp. Prov. xv. 1; x. 10):—

"XXII. 21. The words of the mouth turn away anger, if they are soft: but if they are grievous, they stir up clamour with contention.

"22. He maketh peace who reproveth his neighbour openly: and he that winketh, causeth sorrow."

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.*

Since the above Paper was read, I have seen two of the MSS. above referred to: the Amsterdam N. T. (No. 184), and the Leyden Apocalypse. I subjoin a brief note of the results of my inspection.

I desire to express my thanks to Dr. H. C. Rogge, Librarian of the Amsterdam Seminary of Remonstrants, for his kindness in permitting me to collate the text of the Four Minor Catholic Epistles from the former MS.; and to Dr. M. Th. Houtsma, Adj. Interpres Legati Warneriani, of the University of Leyden, who gave me every facility for examining the latter.

I. Wetstein's MS. (Amsterdam No. 184) contains the Acts, with Epistles as specified above, p. 274, n., written on seventeen quires (each of five sheets), numbered from 18 to 34 inclusive. The first has lost its first three leaves, and the last its concluding leaf, so that 166 leaves remain. Thus the first 17 quires and 3 leaves of the 18th, of the book as originally made up in 34 quires, are wanting. On the recto of leaf 1, being 4th of the quire numbered

* In the foregoing pages I have not mentioned the Cambridge MS., Oo. 1, 2, which contains the Apocalypse, but is described as modern.

18 (now 1st quire), the Book of Acts begins, with its heading duly prefixed. The volume has therefore been intentionally divided at this place, and the 173 leaves which have been removed no doubt contained the Gospels. For them about 130 leaves would suffice, so that there would be some 40 leaves over. These may have been occupied by preliminary matter; but may possibly (though not probably) have also contained the Apocalypse, which would fill about 20 leaves. The Four Minor Catholic Epistles in this MS. are of the ante-Harklensian version (which no doubt is what Beelen means when he describes it as "Philoxenian,"—Prolegg., p. x.). The text, though inferior to the older Nitrian and probably contemporary Williams MSS., is superior to the Maronite text of the Oxford and Dublin copies. It omits the interpolated negative from 2 Pet. iii. 10; but exhibits the faulty reading of ii. 1 (see above, p. 295). In four places it gives, *prima manu*, alternative readings on the margin, all from the Harklensian version (viz. 2 Pet. iii. 5, 10; 2 John 8; 3 John 7). The scribe must therefore have had a Harklensian copy at hand; and this probably accounts for the Harklensian rendering (countenanced by no Greek MS.) which has crept into the text, Jude 7.

II. Scaliger's MS. (Cod. Scalig. 18 (Syr.) Leyden) is written in a Maronite hand. The scribe divides the text throughout by the usual lozenge and other like marks, but does not note the chapters or verses as given by De Dieu. The chapters have been marked on the margin by a later hand, which has also supplied sundry corrections. One important feature of this MS. De Dieu has omitted to reproduce—the insertion of asterisks. Of these, 37 or 38 occur in the text, all *prima manu:* most of them probably—several certainly—relating to various readings or renderings of the Greek. Thus the closer examination of this MS. adds manifold confirmation to the argument for assigning this version to Thomas, which I have above (p. 305) drawn from the single asterisk recorded from the Florence MS. The following is a select list of words whose Syriac equivalents are in this MS. marked *. Apoc. ii. 9 (also 13) *τὰ ἔργα*; iii. 3, *ἐπί σε*; v. 7, *τὸ βιβλίον*; xi. 1, *καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει*; xi. 5, *οὕτως*; xi. 16, *τοῦ θρόνου*; xiii. 10, *συνάγει*; xiii. 17, *τοῦ ὀνόματος*; xiv. 5, *γάρ*; xiv. 18, *ἐξῆλθεν*; xv. 6, *οἱ ἦσαν*; xix. 1, *καὶ ἡ τίμη*; xix. 12, *ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα καί*; xix. 15, *δίστομος*; xxi. 3, *Θεὸς αὐτῶν*; xxi. 8, *καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς*; xxii. 14, *οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ*.

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